

Vietnam—Garbled Signals *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 15, 1966, 35 cents

Kennedy in '68?

Helen Hill Miller

Dos Passos' Chosen Country

Kenneth S. Lynn

Politics as Romance

Stanley Kauffmann

Hanoi's Feuding Friends

A Report from Peking



□ 905. SEEDS OF LIBERATION, ed. by Paul Goodman; and... THE NEW RADICALISM IN AMERICA by Christopher Lasch. (Comb. retail price \$14.45)



□ 277. THE BASIC WRITINGS OF BERTRAND RUSSELL, ed. by R. E. Egner and L. E. Denonn. (Retail: \$10.00)



□ 345. COMING OF AGE IN AMERICA by E. Z. Friedenberg. (Retail: \$5.95)



□ 336. THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT by E. Digby Baltzell. (Retail: \$6.95)



□ 614. UNDERSTANDING MEDIA by Marshall McLuhan. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 615. AFRICA'S SEARCH FOR IDENTITY by Victor C. Ferkiss. (Retail: \$6.50)



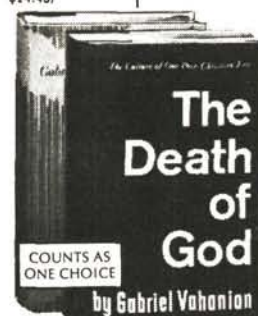
□ 613. THE BIT BETWEEN MY TEETH by Edmund Wilson. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 903. THE WORDS by Jean-Paul Sartre, and... THE HEART OF MAN by Erich Fromm. (Comb. retail: \$8.95)



□ 902. LOVE DECLARED by Denis de Rougemont, and PRIVACY: THE RIGHT TO BE LET ALONE by Morris L. Ernst and A. U. Schwartz. (Comb. retail: \$11.00)



□ 906. THE DEATH OF GOD: The Culture of Our Post-Christian Era by Gabriel Vahanian; and... WAIT WITHOUT IDOLS by Gabriel Vahanian. (Comb. retail: \$10.00)



□ 312. MEMORIES, DREAMS, REFLECTIONS by Carl G. Jung. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 625. UNSAFE AT ANY SPEED by Ralph Nader. (Retail: \$5.95)



□ 256. IDENTITY AND ANXIETY, ed. by M. Stein, A. J. Vidich, and D. M. White. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 607. THE ACCIDENTAL CENTURY by Michael Harrington. (Retail: \$5.95)



□ 901. THE FREE WORLD COLOSSUS by David Horowitz; and... THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT by T. B. Ross and D. Wise. (Comb. retail: \$12.90)



□ 606. MANCHILD IN THE PROMISED LAND by Claude Brown. (Retail: \$5.95)



□ 354. CHILDREN OF THE UPROOTED, ed. by Oscar Handlin. (Retail: \$8.50)



□ 273. THE FATE OF MAN, ed. by Crane Brinton. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 638. THE GREEK MYTHS, ed. by Robert Graves. (Retail: \$6.00)



□ 260. IMAGES OF MAN, ed. by C. Wright Mills. (Retail: \$7.50)



□ 276. THE CITY IN HISTORY by Lewis Mumford. (Retail: \$11.50)



□ 605. THE THERAPEUTIC NIGHTMARE by Morton Mintz. (Retail: \$6.95)



□ 319. THE VITAL BALANCE by Dr. Karl Menninger. (Retail: \$10.00)



□ 904. THE MARTYRED by Richard E. Kim; and... THE FOX IN THE ATTIC by Richard Hughes. (Comb. retail: \$9.00)



□ 343. DOG YEARS by Günter Grass. (Retail: \$6.95)

MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS INCLUDE:

● Savings up to 60% off retail on important books you want to read and own ● Special offers which enable you to obtain free books ● Fast and efficient handling of all your book orders ● Authoritative reviews of the current Selection in your copy of The Book Find News ● A bonus plan that lets you choose one book free for each three you buy as a regular member

Book Find Club

One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

You may enroll me as a trial member in Book Find Club and send me the 3 FREE BOOKS indicated by number below.

☐ ☐ ☐

FREE BOOKS

First Selection

At the same time, send me the book indicated by number in this box to count as my first membership selection. Regardless of regular retail price, you will bill me only \$4.95 plus a small charge for postage and handling.

My only obligation is to purchase four more of the many outstanding books to be offered to me in the coming year at member's prices that will often save me as much as 60% off retail. Then, as a regular member, I will be able to choose one book FREE for each three I buy.

Name (Please print plainly)

Address

City

State

Zip

THE FIRST THREE ARE FREE

and you can save up to 60% off retail on all the rest

Book Find Club offers you any three selections free... as many as 6 books with a retail value up to \$39.85... to introduce you to the many Club benefits our members have enjoyed for more than two decades. In addition, as a special bonus with this offer, you may choose any selection here—regardless of retail price—for only \$4.95 to begin your short trial membership.

This special introductory offer is yours if you simply agree to take four more books in the com-

ing year from the more than one hundred that will be offered to you month-by-month at special member's savings.

Then, as a regular member, you earn bonus credit for each additional purchase. Three bonus credits entitle you to a free book of your choice from our extensive list of bonus selections.

Take a moment right now to select your books, enter them by number on the coupon, and mail today to: Book Find Club, Inc., One Park Avenue, New York City.

How to Travel by FREIGHTER

— the lower cost way to go

For no more than you'd spend at a resort, you can take a never-to-be-forgotten cruise to Rio and Buenos Aires. Or through the West Indies or along the St. Lawrence River to French Canada. In fact, trips to almost everywhere are within your means.

And what accommodations you get: large rooms with beds (not bunks), probably a private bath, lots of good food and plenty of relaxation as you speed from port to port.

Depending upon how fast you want to go, a round the world trip can show you every continent on earth. And there are shorter trips. Fast, uncrowded voyages to England, France, the Mediterranean; two or three week vacations up and down the Pacific Coast or elsewhere. Name the port and the chances are you can find it listed in *Today's Outstanding Buys in Freighter Travel*. This is the book that names the lines, tells where they go, how much they charge, what they offer, and then goes on to specify just which ones top all others for comfort, good food, low cost, and the like.

With well over 85,000 words, it's jammed with facts about practically every passenger-carrying freighter service starting from or going to New York, Canada, New Orleans, the Pacific Coast, Mexico, South America, England, France, the Mediterranean, Africa, the Indies, Australia, the South Seas, Japan, Hawaii, etc.

A big \$2 worth, especially as it can open the way to more travel than you ever thought possible. For your copy, simply fill out coupon.

FABULOUS MEXICO

WHERE EVERYTHING COSTS LESS

*The land of retirement and
vacation bargains*

Where you can build a modern home for \$4500 and an American retirement income looks like a fortune. It's the land where your vacation money can double or more what it might back home—provided you know where to go for Mexico's best values.

Norman Ford's big book **FABULOUS MEXICO—WHERE EVERYTHING COSTS LESS** tells you exactly where to get all of this country's best vacation and retirement values, where you can live like a prince on what you might just get along on in the U.S.A.

Norman Ford knows Mexico from north to south, from east to west, and he takes you to vacation and retirement areas that look more like the South Seas than Tahiti itself; to whole sections of just perfect weather where it's like June all year round; plus resort after resort, towns, cities, spas and what not else where you'll have a vacation to remember at a cost so low it could seem unbelievable.

If you want a delightful retirement area with plenty of Americans around to talk to, he leads you to all the principal retirement towns, as well as dozens of little known, perhaps even more delightful areas, where costs are way far down, there's plenty to do and meeting people is easy. Always, he shows you modern, flower-bedecked hotels and inns that charge hardly half of what you might expect to spend in even such a land of vacation and retirement bargains as Mexico.

There's a great deal more besides: everything from exploring ancient pyramids as old as Egypt's to finding fabulous hunting and fishing. If you might want to share in the high interest rates Mexican banks pay or to buy equally high-earning real estate or start a business of your own, this detailed guide to a fabulous land tells you what you must do to start your money earning so much more than in the U.S.

FABULOUS MEXICO—WHERE EVERYTHING COSTS LESS opens up Mexico to you. It's a big book, yet costs only \$1.50. So send for yours today.

HOW TO TRAVEL

— AND GET PAID FOR IT

There's a job waiting for you somewhere: on a ship, with an airline, in overseas branches of American firms, in foreign firms overseas—even exploring if you're adventurous.

The full story of what job you can fill is in Norman Ford's big book **How to Travel—and Get Paid for It**. Whether you're male or female, young or old, whether you want a life-time of paid traveling or just hanker to roam the world for a short year or so, here are the facts you want, complete with names and addresses and full details about the preparations to make, the cautions to observe, the countries to head for.

You learn about jobs in travel agencies (and as tour conductors), in importing and exporting concerns, with mining and construction companies. Here's the story of jobs in the Red Cross and the UN organizations, how doctors get jobs on ships, the way for a young girl to land a job as airline hostess, the wonderful travel opportunities if you will teach English to foreigners, and the fabulous travel possibilities for those who know stenography.

"Can a man or woman still work his or her way round the world today?" Norman Ford asks in this book as you might ask today. And he replies in 75,000 words of facts, "The answer is still a very definite Yes."

To travel and get paid for it, send today for **How to Travel—and Get Paid for It** on a money-back guarantee if not satisfied. Price \$1.50. Fill out coupon.

What to See in ALL AMERICA

—in the U.S.A., Canada and Mexico
and all the way to the Panama Canal

This 100,000 word book helps you to explore every sight-filled corner in all America. From Alaska to Florida, from Labrador to California, from the Mexican border to the Panama Canal, it shows you all that's outstanding in the U.S.A., Canada, and all the other countries on our entire continent—countries which you can reach more easily than you probably thought.

Whether you drive or would rather leave your car behind, it details the byways which reveal so much more of America and get you to interesting places most people never see. It makes sure you always know exactly where to go, what to see.

If your eyes are on Maine or Texas; on Florida or Arizona or California; on Niagara Falls or the Grand Canyon; on Yellowstone or Yosemite; if you want to visit New York City or Washington, Chicago or Los Angeles, this book shows you the most interesting ways to get there from your home and it helps you see all of them with knowledge and understanding. If you want to get to out-of-the-way places, it shows you where to find the Eskimo country, Hudson Bay posts, etc. You can drive most of the way, yet where the roads stop, it helps you continue by ship or rail to still more unusual country.

For trips below the border, it shows the most sight-filled ways to all that makes Mexico so exciting to visit: its ancient ways, its red-roofed towns clinging to mountainsides, its big cities, its beach resorts that seem to match the South Seas, and its immense pyramids that rival Egypt's for both size and mystery. Or do you want to go on to Guatemala's fabulous Indian country; to El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama? They're yours by car or by low-cost scenic motor coach or rail.

To see all the grandeur of America as you've probably never before explored your own country and her neighbors, make sure that you have your copy of **What to See in All America**, 100,000 words long, yet it costs only \$2. Why not get your copy now?

Where to Retire or Vacation

*at what look like prewar prices — and
where no one ever heard of nerves or worries*

These Are America's Own Bargain Paradises

In **OFF-THE-BEATEN-PATH**, the best-selling book by Norman Ford, you read of the island paradises aplenty in the United States and Canada, of art colonies (artists search for picturesque locations where costs are low!), of areas with almost a perfect climate or with flowers on every side.

Here are the real U.S.A.-brand Shangri-Las made for the man or woman who's had enough of crowds. Here, too, are unspoiled seashore villages, tropic-like islands, and dozens of other spots just about perfect for your retirement or vacation at some of the lowest prices you've ever heard of since the gone-forever prewar days. And for good measure you also read about the low-cost paradises in Hawaii, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

You can be sure that **OFF-THE-BEATEN PATH** names the low-cost Florida retirement and vacationing towns, the best values in Texas, the Southwest, California, the South and East, Canada—and a dozen other areas which the crowds have not yet discovered:

- That undiscovered region where winters are as warm as Miami Beach's yet costs can be two-thirds less.
- That island that looks like Hawaii yet is 2,000 miles nearer (no expensive sea or air trip to get there).
- France's only remaining outpost in this part of the world—completely surrounded by Canadian territory . . . or a village more Scottish than Scotland or age-old Spanish hamlets right in our own U.S. where relaxation is the order of the day.
- That remarkable town where a fee of 3 cents a day gives you an almost endless round of barbecues, musicals, concerts, picnics, pot luck suppers, smorgasbord dinners, and a fine arts program.

OFF-THE-BEATEN PATH is a big book filled with facts that open the way to a different kind of retirement or vacation made all the more attractive by the rock bottom prices. About 100,000 words and plenty of pictures. Yet it costs only \$2.00.

Mail to

**HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 37 Shore Drive
Greenlawn (Long Island), New York 11740**

I have enclosed \$ (cash, check or money order). Please send me the books checked below. **YOU WILL REFUND MY MONEY IF I AM NOT SATISFIED.**

- ☐ TODAY'S OUTSTANDING BUYS IN FREIGHTER TRAVEL. \$2
- ☐ FABULOUS MEXICO—WHERE EVERYTHING COSTS LESS. \$1.50
- ☐ HOW TO TRAVEL—AND GET PAID FOR IT. \$1.50
- ☐ WHAT TO SEE IN ALL AMERICA. \$2
- ☐ OFF-THE-BEATEN PATH . . . America's Own Bargain Paradises. \$2

☐ **SAVE ALMOST HALF: All 5 books above for only \$5.**

Print Name

Street Address

City

State

Zip Code

T.R.B.

from
Washington

GOP Desert

★ There is a tendency, we think, to over-interpret midterm elections. Two years ago, on the night of the Johnson landslide, we would have guessed that, come 1966, the Republicans would make a substantial bounceback. We still think so. That is the way it nearly always happens. We would have expected a gain of about 35-40 House seats . . . par for the course over a quarter century. Because Goldwater's defeat was so extreme, we would have given the GOP an extra 10 seats or more.

Of course people aren't averages, and a national tide may set in. That is what you watch for here. Everybody may get mad at something and polarize all the little localisms into one big trend. We have waited for such a trend, and our contemporaries have predicted it. First it was Vietnam. But—like it or not—the doves haven't got very far in the primaries and seem unlikely to do much better in the election.

Then it was inflation. But most of the people are prosperous except the Negroes. Unemployed teen-age Negroes throw rocks of course and cause riots in a perfectly direct cause-and-effect relationship. But most people call this "racial unrest" and forget it is economic.

So that leaves law and order. We went over last week to the final meeting before the election of the Republican Coordinating Committee. They pushed out poor old Ike (looking a bit frail, we are sorry to say), their principal stage property. He spoke with utter conviction. Our cities "seethe with crime," he said; the riots show an "eroding moral fiber." Well, law-and-order is lace-curtain talk for grabbing the white backlash vote.

We assume Ike wouldn't understand that, nor what they are doing to him.

It was all pretty discouraging, we thought. Two years after Goldwater, these petty leaders are still desperately scrambling for a winning issue and have come up with this. The two-year record is barren as the New Mexico desert; the party has just dug in its heels. And here at the end of it they are sneaking off for a tryst with that old harlot Racism, without telling their wives.

We don't say Democrats aren't about as bad. The evolution of US parties hasn't emerged above the Missing Link stage. The best brains in America, unlike England, go into business, not politics. But there's always the lingering hope that the Opposition will come up with something positive and coherent. Instead, the Republicans are still just a convenience; something you vote for if you don't vote Democratic. On that negative basis we still give it 40 seats, plus, in November.

Governor Rockefeller repudiated the leaders' veiled racism next day. No, he said, the Administration has not "condoned and encouraged" street violence. Rocky and the GOP governors are a cut above the congressional wing. He and retiring Governor Scranton have willed their presidential nomination hopes to George Romney of Michigan.

Most people think Nixon is a front-runner at present. Our guess would be something like this: The GOP will make a normal gain of House seats. This will be hailed by Republican leaders as a "miracle" performed by Chairman Ray Bliss. There will follow a week's heavy interpretation by top Washington pundits, each explaining the victory to support his own thesis: inflation, civil rights, too much welfarism, etc. Then, rather suddenly, we shall discover we have a real race on our hands. Yes, Nixon-Romney, and it's already begun. . . . After that? A hard rub on our crystal ball indicates Nixon in 1968; and Johnson, if he hasn't killed himself by overwork in the meantime, will clobber him.

Modern Indulgences

★ We noticed an advertisement in the financial pages of the *NYTimes* last week from Goodbody & Co. urging tax-

exempt bonds. Tax exempts are what papal indulgences were in the Middle Ages; if you were rich you could buy yourself off from a little time in purgatory with them. Today, if you are rich, you can buy yourself off from a little taxation with the modern "indulgence."

They are issued mostly by states and municipalities. Goodbody & Co. explains how nice it is. "Where is 4.6 percent better than five percent?" it asks. It explains that you get five percent in a humdrum savings bank or loan account but then have to pay a hefty federal and state tax on the interest. Naturally, the richer you are the deeper the bite.

But now buy a tax exempt that yields 4.6 percent to maturity. No federal income tax; no New York state income tax; no New York City income tax.

The fatter your pocketbook the more precious the "indulgence." The advertisement figures that if you are in the 32 percent federal income bracket (\$20,000 joint return, or \$10,000 single) an investment of \$10,000 saves you \$641 in four-and-a-half years.

Not Bad

★ This is only the beginning of the happy situation. Suppose you are in the 50 percent bracket (joint return up to \$52,000). The indulgence pays you the equivalent of nine percent interest. Not bad, eh? And if your annual joint income is over \$200,000 your tax bracket is 70 percent (i.e., 70 percent of all income over that amount goes to Uncle Sam).

But with tax exempts, you escape federal income taxation. That is equivalent to a minimum yield of 15 percent on your money, according to a careful table that Folger, Nolan, Fleming & Co. has worked out.

In the Middle Ages, if we remember our history correctly, an itinerant agent, a jolly palmer perhaps, came around with a drum, set up a platform at the country fair and marketed indulgences, to help mount a crusade or something. Today the jolly palmers are Bache & Co., Harris Upham & Co., or your favorite broker. Higher war taxes will make the loophole bigger. Step up, you millionaires, repent, praise God and buy tax exempts!

Vietnam—Garbled Signals

CONTENTS

COMMENT — 5-8

Vietnam — Garbled Signals, Broadcast
Ownership, Shriver Drops CDGM,
Udall's Indians, Courts and the Press

Hanoi's Feuding Friends

— Minoru Omori 9

Kennedy in '68?

— Helen Hill Miller 11

Politics as Romance

— by Stanley Kauffmann 14

BOOKS — Essays, Reviews and Poems by

Kenneth S. Lynn, John Updike,

Alexander R. Butler, Alex Campbell,

Lawrence Graver 15

CORRESPONDENCE 27

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief — Gilbert A. Harrison

Managing Editor — Alex Campbell

Books and Arts Editor — Robert Evett

Associate Literary Editor — Stanley Kauffmann

Associate Editors — James Ridgeway,

Andrew Kopkind

Staff Writer — David Sanford

Assistant to the Editors — F. R. Ruskin

Copy Editor — Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel,
Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Robert Coles,
Joseph Featherstone, Helen Fuller,
Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe,
Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson,
Pauline Kael

Publisher — Garth Hite

Circulation Manager — Bertha Lehman

Business Manager — Glenon Matthiesen

New York Advertising Representative —

E. Laurence White, Jr., Good-Laidley-White

50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

How in common sense can anyone reconcile UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's hopes for peace talks, with Defense Secretary McNamara's brisk preparations for heavier fighting? Goldberg probably is right to think that the proposals he made at the General Assembly on September 22 have brought the two sides in the war closer to talks. Yet the United States teeters clumsily on the verge of further escalation, risking combat with both Russia and China when policy ought to be pointed toward slacking off and toward the conference table.

Part of the trouble arises from a crude projection of American domestic politics onto the international scene. President Johnson's proposed trip to the Philippines at the end of this month may lead him on to South Vietnam, he will seem to be doing something useful, just before the election. General Eisenhower's recent deplorable performances in Chicago and Washington, are inseparable from Republican electoral ambitions; his Chicago statements were related to the campaign of his brother Earl to become Cook County treasurer. General Eisenhower told a news conference that he favored immediately applying, in Vietnam, "any action to win," "as much force as we need to win." When he was asked, in Washington, if this meant he would use nuclear weapons in Vietnam, he answered: "I would not automatically preclude anything. . . . I would just say this — I would do anything that would bring the war to an honorable and successful conclusion as rapidly as possible" — as if there could be any "successful" end to this tragedy. The former President cannily tacked on qualifying clauses. In Chicago he explained he was "not sure" what he actually would do to "win the war"; "I'm not on the ground, not familiar with all the political considerations." In Washington, he repeated that "I don't know how I would fight the war today," and acknowledged that the balance of nuclear forces in the world has changed since he was President. He doesn't know "the extent of restrictions the Administration may have placed on itself in the use of nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia," and was "not trying to set myself up as a competent authority to criticize the Administration." All this is confusing enough to American opinion; how must it be read in Hanoi, Moscow, Peking?

Defense Secretary McNamara damaged the credibility of Goldberg's proposals by announcing, the same day Goldberg spoke, a 30-percent increase in production of warplanes for the fiscal year that begins next July. McNamara will attend the Philippines conference, whose host, Philippines President Marcos, says it will be a "council of peace,"

aimed at taking "the first concrete step toward seeking peace in South Vietnam and also in Southeast Asia." But McNamara has let it be known that by next spring the number of American fighting men in Vietnam will have been raised from 318,000 to 400,000 or 425,000, and that after next month's congressional elections he'll ask for a supplemental defense appropriation of between \$10 and \$12 billion. What is the world to make of this, and of our accelerated building of huge military bases in both South Vietnam and Thailand?

The French foreign minister, Couve de Murville, who saw President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk last week, thinks the Goldberg proposals are hopeful but wants some clarification of them. None seems forthcoming, though de Murville was reportedly told that Hanoi will get clarification if it seeks it. De Murville apparently asked if the US expects withdrawal from the South of Viet Cong guerrillas trained in the North, as well as North Vietnamese army regulars fighting in the South. As of last month, enemy forces in the South were estimated by the Pentagon at 283,000, including 35,000 or 40,000 North Vietnamese. "Supervised, phased withdrawal," Goldberg's words, of the North Vietnamese regiments and of American troops would still leave in South Vietnam almost a quarter million armed opponents of the Saigon military regime. Saigon has an army of 275,000 men, but its annual desertion rate is 134,000, and there are estimated to be 400,000 draft dodgers; an American official in Saigon last week told the correspondent of *The Washington Post* that South Vietnam's army is "no longer part of the show."

Goldberg's proposals seem to imply American acknowledgment of the Viet Cong as much more than Hanoi's stooges; as people entitled to places at the conference table and, very likely, in a future Vietnamese government. McNamara's plans, on the other hand, appear to envisage more US military backing for a Saigon military junta that is a US puppet. American troops in South Vietnam outnumber the South Vietnam army; American casualties in Vietnam are touching 1,000 a week. If peace means a government in Saigon with communists in it, and it may, will we accept that as preferable to a prolongation of the war? If we do not, we may be sure both the North Vietnamese regulars and the Viet Cong guerrillas will go on fighting, too.

There is an alternative. Twelve years ago, this country refused to sign but agreed to abide by the Geneva agreements, which, if implemented, would probably have resulted in a unified, but probably communist Vietnam. The Goldberg proposals can take us back to Geneva, as suggested by the British foreign secretary. The McNamara variations repeat and compound the evils of the wasted years.

Broadcast Ownership

Can a broadcasting network – or, for that matter, any of the mass media – report and analyze the news, and generally view the passing scene objectively and critically if it is one tentacle of a big corporate octopus? That's the principal issue posed by the pending merger of International Telephone and Telegraph with the American Broadcasting Company.

Under the law the FCC must find this marriage serves "the public interest, convenience and necessity," and probably it will do so – without ever having faced up to the tough questions posed by conglomerate radio-TV acquisitions. For ITT, ABC is just another chunk of valuable property. Add it to Avis Rent-a-Car, Aetna Finance, Great International Life Insurance, Airport Parking, Hamilton Management, Federal Electric and a plethora of other communications and manufacturing activities, and ABC will help push ITT's sales past the \$2 billion a year mark. ITT's operations are so extensive that ABC's news reporting could come to have about as much bite as a dish of yogurt. With communications services and manufacturing in 118 foreign countries, ITT earns about 60 percent of its income outside the US. Is it not possible, therefore, that an ITT-owned ABC, as Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson said in a letter to FCC Chairman Rosel H. Hyde, "will tailor its news commentary and reporting so as to minimize any conflict with local governments?" Much the same can also be true at home. ITT is a major defense contractor and supplies services for the Office of Economic Opportunity, in all earning about half of its domestic income from the government. Given that kind of intimate relationship, ITT might think it "prudent" if ABC were to be "restrained" in its analysis of prevailing government policies.

The questions presented by the ITT-ABC merger are by no means limited to this particular consolidation. Other industrial corporations, like RCA, Westinghouse, and AVCO, have substantial – and growing – broadcast interests. Since the communications industries are coalescing and daily newspaper competition is declining, it becomes all the more important to insure that the airwaves are not allowed to come within the control of owners with such diversified interests that their critical informing function risks being compromised. Commercial banks cannot engage in investment banking; aircraft manufacturers must remain apart from airlines; railroads cannot transport articles which they have produced or in which they have an interest. Ultimately the same sort of restriction may have to be imposed on the purchase of broadcast licenses.

The Commission could make a fresh start by using the ITT-ABC application as a basis for seeking the kind of

data that would enable it to determine whether any such merger is consistent with the public interest. One owner is not the same as another, and if radio and television are to inform the public rather than simply defend and shelter the status quo from critical appraisal, it may be necessary for the Commission to limit the categories of those whom it permits to acquire licenses. If the FCC abdicates this responsibility, Congress ought to explore the entire subject.

Shriver Drops CDGM

Sargent Shriver last week officially announced termination of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, the controversial Head Start program. In September, this journal predicted he would do so. In part Shriver's decision was in response to pressures from Senator Stennis and represents the desires of the White House.

The Head Start program is to be stripped of its community action functions which had involved many poor Negroes, and handed over to an 18-man biracial board of "moderate" Mississippi Democrats. The White House was instrumental in setting up the board. The President is anxious to paste together a loyalist Democratic party in Mississippi in time for next year's gubernatorial elections, and the CDGM program has been sacrificed to this end.

Harry McPherson, Jr., special counsel of the President, negotiated the deal. About a month ago, he called Douglas Winn, a Greenville, Miss., lawyer, who is a personal friend of the President's. Following this conversation, Winn got two "moderate" Democrats to agree to be members of a new board. Owen Cooper, president of the Mississippi Chemical Corp., agreed to be co-chairman. Leroy Percy, chairman of Mississippi Chemical, would be a board member. Both Winn and Percy are members of the President's Club. Cooper is considered to be a possible "moderate" candidate for governor of Mississippi next year. The White House called Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, who in turn got in touch with Aaron Henry, a one-time Mississippi Negro radical who has turned moderate; Henry agreed to be the other co-chairman. The board draws heavily from young moderate Democrats and older men who have remained loyal to the national party. The young Democrats include people like Hodding Carter, III, an editor, and Charles Young, a Negro businessman. (He too is a member of the President's Club.) Among the older loyalists are Oliver Emmerich, a newspaper publisher, and Oscar Carr, a plantation owner.

Early in September, Henry, Cooper and Percy met with Shriver in Washington, where future plans were discussed. Representatives from the Mississippi NAACP are also understood to have met in secrecy

with Senator Stennis.

On September 13, Cooper, Carter and Percy filed a charter for a new non-profit corporation to take over CDGM's Head Start programs. The three whites signed the papers; the charter stipulates that they have authority to appoint the 15 other members. This means the Negroes will be dummies. Involvement of the poor is out the window. Contrary to OEO guidelines, the corporation charter is to remain secret.

All summer the OEO had been investigating CDGM, in some instances using law students from Howard University as undercover agents.

In announcing termination of CDGM, the OEO put out a voluminous cover story. It said examination of CDGM's affairs had revealed "serious deficiencies and irregularities" in the program, and that because of the shabby state of books and records, payment of \$654,000 would have to be held up. This is a curious situation. In February OEO gave CDGM a six-month grant for \$5.6 million. And then, to make sure the administration of the program did not become muddled, it employed three consultants at \$100 a day, and sent them, along with a staff specialist in systems management, to Jackson, where the four have been throughout the grant period. Moreover, during the six months of the grant, Ernst & Ernst, a reputable and thoroughly established accounting firm, with a local office at Jackson, has been employed to audit the books. This cost an estimated \$40,000. In July, Ernst & Ernst in a letter to officials at CDGM said, "As you know, various persons from OEO and from the GAO have had occasion to visit your operation . . . and it is believed that those who have visited and inspected the accounting system and the system established for internal control and check have found it acceptable and for the most part praiseworthy."

Udall's Indians

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall is serious about improving the bleak reservations where 380,000 American Indians live. He replaced Commissioner of Indian Affairs Phileo Nash with an Indian, Robert Bennett. He brought in a specialist to improve Indian education. Last week Bennett was in Minneapolis, the first stop on a national tour, asking Indian leaders what they would like to see in the way of a new legislative program. The department already has drafted a major new bill to encourage economic development and further self-government on reservations. Udall is expected to introduce it with fanfare early next session.

Under the proposed legislation individual Indians or tribes could get the Secretary's permission to manage their own lands. So long as the land remained in Indian

hands it would be tax free. This is new, for now control of Indian land is closely held by the Secretary.

The hard problem on reservations is to turn them into communities where the residents can find work. The new Indian bill would make a start towards bringing in industry. Interior will be asking Congress to exempt companies from income taxes for 10 years if they set up operations on reservations. The Indians would also be encouraged to form their tribes into tax-exempt corporations; the department would guarantee loans made to these corporations and set aside a \$15-million fund to back them. The tribes would thus be able to attract private investment and to develop their communities, either through direct loans from banks, insurance companies or other firms, or by going into tax-exempt bond markets.

These self-help devices are sensible, but they have been put before the Congress before without success. Organized labor helped beat down a move to tack an Indian tax-incentive rider on to the civil rights bill in 1964. Labor argued against it because it might pull industries out of major metropolitan areas, leaving workers without jobs. Guaranteed Indian loans have been proposed before; a bill is now stuck in the Senate Interior Committee. It has been said that few Indians are trained to do what would be required of them in administering complicated corporations. It has been suggested that the Interior Department itself should provide the necessary professional management.

Any effort to turn the reservations into strong Indian communities is likely to face stiff going before the Senate Interior Committee's subcommittee on Indian affairs. Since the 1950's, the westerners have taken the line that it would be a mercy to close down the reservations, divide up the land among the Indians, and in this way force them into the mainstream of society. In practice, however, this policy doesn't work well. The Indians are often gypped out of their possessions and become winos on public welfare.

The Indians don't get anywhere because they have no power. Periodically, there are signs that the National Indian Youth Council, a group of young militants, may take hold. The council sounds like SNCC: angry at the "system," proud of being Indian, but unable thus far to transform their bitterness into effective politics. They could well begin by turning hard on the westerners who are so fond of telling how they like to do a little something every year for "our Indian people," when in fact they are selling them down the River. Members of the Indian Youth Council could ask to testify before Senator Ribicoff, who is making an extended inquiry into unrest in the cities; more and more Indians have come to grief in urban slums. The story of what has happened to the Indians does not reflect credit on Senator Jackson (D, Wash.) or his Interior Committee.

Courts and the Press

The treatment in Dallas of Lee Harvey Oswald, the trial of Jack Ruby, and the notorious excesses that surrounded the Sheppard case in Cleveland a dozen years ago – events such as these have highlighted the problem of obtaining a fair trial, before a jury, of a criminal case in which there is keen public interest. What has seemed to come naturally to our prosecution and defense lawyers, to the police and to news media, has been to try the case in the newspapers and on TV before and during its trial in court. The result very often, as the Supreme Court held last spring in reversing the conviction in the Sheppard case, has been to make a farce of the court trial. For one thing, it is often virtually impossible to find a juror who may be said to be impartial in the sense that he has arrived at no prejudgment of the case on the basis of the pretrial publicity.

The problem has seemed intractable in this country because, it has been argued, the First Amendment's guaranty of the freedom of the press precludes any form of censorship of what newspapers or TV may deem newsworthy and may wish to publish in connection with a criminal trial. But the First Amendment secures the right to publish what is known, and perhaps to find out what should be known, but not a right to compel anyone to reveal what he chooses not to reveal; especially if the so-called facts are more rumor than fact, and if the supposed public interest in them is more prurient than anything else, and is outweighed by the interest of the individual defendant against disclosure. The problem, then, concerns what police and lawyers should feel free to reveal, more than what newspapers should be left free to publish.

Acting on his own initiative several months ago, Jon Newman, United States Attorney for Connecticut, formulated a set of rules forbidding his assistants to treat themselves and criminal defendants to the all too common publicity bath before and during trial. Last week, a special committee of the American Bar Association, which has been studying this matter for some time, issued an even more detailed and comprehensive set of recommended rules to govern the conduct of the police and of lawyers on both the prosecution and defense sides. If and when these rules are adopted – and it will be up to state and federal courts and to legislatures and Congress to adopt them – one may expect that the public will continue to be informed of the commission of a crime, of the identity of a suspect, and of the existence of any physical evidence that may have been seized. But there will be no more statements from the police or prosecutor about confessions (or the lack of one), about witnesses and their stories (remember District Attorney Henry Wade in Dallas three years ago?),

about prior criminal records, and about theories and strategies and prospects.

This is all to the good, although one may question the propriety and effectiveness of the enforcement methods the committee recommends (disciplinary and contempt procedures against lawyers and police). But the committee addresses itself not only to the conduct of lawyers and police, but directly to the news media. It recommends that judges have the power to punish, as a contempt of court, publication by a newspaper or other medium, *while a trial is in progress*, of material that could affect the outcome and that has not, or has not yet, been brought out at the trial itself. This is an attempt to control not what the press may be allowed to know, but what it may publish, whatever the source for its information.

The committee did not recommend that judges have

the power to regulate, on pain of contempt of court, what the press may find out and publish about a case on the basis of independent, private investigations in the period *before* a trial has begun. But even as restricted to the period of the trial itself, the committee's recommendation for direct regulation of the press may, as the committee itself recognized, run into rather acute First-Amendment difficulties. And its wisdom is in any event highly questionable. The contempt power is in other circumstances an established, ancient method of control. But it is also in all circumstances a dangerous and regressive one, more readily subject to arbitrary use than most governmental powers. It might result not so much in the protection of the defendant, as in the insulation of the judge and the trial process from scrutiny and criticism, and that is a result no one should wish to bring about.

Hanoi's Feuding Friends

Peking

The rampaging Red Guards, learning I was Japanese, welcomed me warmly at the same time they were conducting their wildest demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Some observers at the scene along with me described the mobs of teen-agers as "laying siege" to the embassy. The biggest surprise I have encountered during my visit to Red Guard-dominated Peking is this: The Chinese despise the Russians more than they "love" their embattled comrades in Vietnam.

The Chinese have not completely forgotten the excesses committed by the Imperial Japanese Army 30 years ago. Yet, Peking is strengthening its overtures to Japan's ruling party, which is outstandingly anti-communist. The Chinese even invited, in September, a Japanese delegation including four ex-cabinet members, to visit China for 25 days during this time of revolutionary turmoil. One delegation member was formerly Japan's foreign minister; another defense minister.

An official of Nanking's Foreign Relations Committee minced no words about the Russians. "We can never forget the recent arrogant and persistent demands of the Soviet government to pay back our debts plus the Korean war expenses. As you know we repaid the debt in full at the end of 1964." He added caustically: "How many Russians died at the front in the Korean war?" This was not the first time I had heard similar remarks. It was nonetheless startling to discover that this Soviet demand is more deep-rooted in the Chinese mind than

any thought of revenge against the Japanese for the "rape of Nanking."

A farmer told me that the Russians originally helped them build their farm commune tractor-repair shops, but that the machines I was seeing now have all been built by Chinese. "During the natural disaster—the drought—during the 1959-1961 period, the Russians stopped all economic and military aid to our country when we needed it the most. But we were not defeated by this," he said. A woman shoe-factory worker expressed antagonism against the Russians as she displayed a domestically made shoe-sewing machine. She proudly added: "We have even made the latest model MIG-21 jet fighter planes by our own hands."

A year ago, I had seen an actual case of face-to-face hostility between Chinese and Russians while I was waiting at Nanning airport in southern China for a Chinese plane to fly me to Hanoi. Seven Russian technicians were going through customs inspection. I heard a customs official ask them to present their passports. They belligerently slammed their passports on the table; apparently they thought the request improper. The official then asked if they had foreign currency. The Russians, now seething with rage, sputtered: "Nyet!"

Today, such behavior on the part of Russians would not be tolerated by the Red Guards.

Premier Chou En-lai visited Bucharest last July im-

mediately after a visit to the same city by Soviet First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. According to official non-communist sources, the chief of Rumania's Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, as a representative of the Warsaw Pact nations, made a "million dollar" demand: that Chou En-lai permit unlimited transport of Vietnam war materiel through continental China. I was informed in Peking that this included permission for aerial transport. The Russians obviously required an airfield to refuel transport planes inside China. But the fact that Russia and Rumania signed a joint communiqué, and China and Rumania did not, broadly hints that Chou En-lai refused permission for the overflights.

In my talks with a number of Chinese officials, I raised this question: "If the US bombs or mines Haiphong harbor, would you permit the transport of Russian anti-aircraft weapons over your country?" Their reply was stunning: "As the United States is the friend of Soviet Russia, both of whom are trying to annihilate the Asians, your question is based on an assumption we cannot accept." Chinese rancor toward Moscow is unmitigated and all-pervasive. Resident Japanese correspondents in Peking confirm this.

How "isolated" is China from her fellow communist states, North Korea and North Vietnam? On August 12 of this year, the North Korean Labor Party announced: "No single country nor a single party must ever become the axis of world revolution. Neither must a single party become the 'domineering' organ. But in recent movements of international communism, an intolerable phenomenon can be discerned, such as pressure and interference against brother parties in other countries. We cannot tolerate such actions."

Here we have clear evidence of the rupture of Pyongyang from Peking, a line, incidentally, which the Japanese Communist Party is following – namely, disengagement from China.

When I met a high official of the Chinese Communist Party in Peking, I mentioned these facts to him. Instead of replying directly, he said: "What do you mean by saying that we, a people 700 million strong, are being isolated?" The implication that it is impossible to "isolate" nearly one-fourth of the human race is true. It is also true that when formerly intimate neighbors declare their "independence" this signifies isolation.

In July, the Afro-Asian Writers Association convention was held in Peking. On this occasion, North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) singled out the Soviet Union in their expressions of gratitude for support in connection with the Vietnam war. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union was sponsoring another Afro-Asian writers convention in Cairo. Hanoi and the Viet Cong, while seemingly boycotting the Russian-led meeting in Cairo, attended the Peking conference and openly thanked the Russians! And they

did so when the storm of the purge against "revisionists" in the Chinese Communist Party was at its height. It was at this time that former Peking mayor Peng Chen, the then most likely heir to Mao Tse-tung as well as the leading "revisionist," was purged by Defense Minister Lin Piao, who has been tapped to succeed Mao.

Up to that point, Hanoi had always walked the "middle road." In 1963, North Vietnam signed the partial nuclear test ban treaty in Moscow, despite refusals to sign by Peking and Pyongyang. Ho Chi Minh then deemed it wise to send a "conciliatory mission" to Peking. When I visited Hanoi in 1965, I was made aware of the fact that there were two warring elements within the Hanoi Communist Party. Today the pro-Moscow faction seems the stronger.

It was therefore somewhat puzzling to find, when I visited Washington this August, that American policy makers place great, perhaps excessive, stress upon Chinese influence on Hanoi.

Chinese officials in Peking appear convinced that President Johnson, goaded by the Goldwater wing of the Republican Party as well as by the hawks within his own, will continue to bomb North Vietnam – but not send ground troops into the North – and will bomb or mine the Haiphong port, perhaps prior to the November elections. A Chinese communist editorial writer, speaking to me in Peking, condemned the White Sulphur Springs speech by Mr. Johnson on July 12 as a "conspiracy to interfere in China's power struggle between 'doctrinarians' and 'revisionists'."

He also condemned Secretary of State Rusk's proposal to exchange scholars with China as an "intervention in our domestic affairs."

Such thinking is obviously farfetched. Nevertheless, I believe it is highly possible that miscalculations in Washington, especially at this time of great convulsions in China, may cause US officials, heady over the success of their well-publicized "democratic elections" in South Vietnam, to take advantage of this revolutionary chaos and further escalate the Vietnam war. If the US does widen the war, closing the port of Haiphong, it is confidently believed that Peking will interpret this as a "second Cuban crisis" and take steps accordingly. Mao Tse-tung would surely trumpet the news that Russia is indeed a "paper tiger." Assuming another Soviet retreat – this time from Haiphong harbor – the real "victor" in the crisis would not be America; it would be China. For Ho Chi Minh would, of a certainty, shift all his loyalties to Peking, and a real tiger will then have emerged in Hanoi.

MINORU OMORI

MINORU OMORI has been foreign editor of Mainichi Shinbun, one of the world's largest newspapers, and is the author of many books on Asian politics.

Kennedy in '68?

Evidence against the Self-Evident

Helen Hill Miller

In presidential politics, Calvin Coolidge is unique in choosing not to run. Any fool knows that a sitting President, if he wants it, can have his party's nomination for a second term. These truths are self-evident, and all evidence shows that Lyndon Johnson is not only sitting but running. Any incumbent President can make his will felt upon his party's state and city political structures, and Mr. Johnson is exceptionally adept at this kind of manipulation.

Take the traditional largesse in the rivers and harbors bill. The doubtless apocryphal story of Mr. Johnson's remark to Senator Church during the Vietnam debate is illustrative: "How many dams can Bill Fulbright get you?" Moreover, ancient forms of dispensing federal funds have been supplemented by defense contracts under a military budget whose dollar total has reached that of World War II, by space agency installations, by accelerated federal throughway schedules, and more.

There's always something a President can do for you: "I thought you wanted that judgeship for your law partner"; "there's an ambassadorial vacancy coming up in Europe"; "members of the President's Club get special treatment at convention-time." (Maybe at other times as well.)

Then too, the party that controls the White House tends to go on the inactive list. Under Lyndon Johnson, the languishing at National Committee headquarters is unprecedented. The masterly inactivity of the *de jure* chairman John Bailey has been supplemented by the departure of the *de facto* chairman Clifford Carter. When the Democrats are the out-party, unity in diversity is acceptable at the National Committee; the chairman is relatively friendly to stalwarts of varying views and ambitions, various predilections for candidates. But officials and members of the *in-party* are all for one, or better be, and the vainer the President, the more so. Only the very strong-willed or the hopelessly romantic will buck their leader, if he wishes to lead them again – unless they begin to fear that he will lead to disaster, whereas another could lead them, however bloody the battle, to victory.

It is not only politically costly for a party member

to establish a position different from that of the President, it is technically difficult. For when the President wants headlines, he makes them, and his headlines blanket everyone else's. The timing of last February's Honolulu conference on Vietnam may have been a fortuitous or a calculated blanketing of the Fulbright hearings on the war; in any case it was effective.

So it's foolish to talk about Robert Kennedy in '68. Though the President's popularity has suffered a sharp decline, voters still prefer him over any currently visible Republican opponent. The convention should be just one vast hurrah. And if, in the interval, Vietnam should take a turn for the better, the hurrah will have real heart in it. A decision by Kennedy to take on the President (a decision he would have to make next year) would hit the party like a hurricane, splinter it, the wreckage of bitterness would be lying about for years. Nevertheless – assuming that the war in Vietnam is dragging on – is it unthinkable? If all is going reasonably well, of course, it is. Why then would any man wish to challenge LBJ? Why commit suicide?

But just for a moment, consider the evidence against the self-evident. While recent polls show Robert Kennedy doing less well than the President against likely Republican candidates – paired against Nixon, he runs a dead heat almost identical with his brother's – Democrats nationwide would rather have him as their candidate. Would the delegates at a convention? What leads a convention to nominate a man for President?

First, popular appeal. In this, RFK has an advantage: his is growing, LBJ's has dropped drastically. In early January, 1965, 71 percent of respondents in a Gallup poll approved the way the President was handling his job; as of last month, 48 percent thought so. Other polls suggest that this is a reaction to a person, not to a party. Thus in Montana, 83 percent of respondents in the John Kraft poll as of two weeks ago said Senator Mike Mansfield is doing a good job, whereas only 78 percent thought so a year ago; but confidence in the President had declined, from 65 to 53 percent. (White House official opinion about the accuracy of polls is said to have fallen at about the same rate; the hip

pocket is now empty of clippings.) Louis Harris, taking an "in-depth look" at public opinion reported on September 25 that 39 percent of *all* voters prefer Kennedy – 37 percent LBJ – as the Democratic candidate two years hence. The same poll showed 47 percent of the Democrats polled would rather have RFK in control of their party (41 percent were for LBJ). This support was highly concentrated in certain groups and areas. "The results," Harris comments, "dramatically point up the fact that Robert Kennedy's popularity is rooted in the more traditional havens of Democratic support." For instance, in a hypothetical race against Nixon, Kennedy is the choice of 95 percent of Negroes polled.

RFK's appeal shows not only in polls but in the streets. On his recent beatling through the Middle West – including Minnesota – the crowds were reported as wildly enthusiastic. Such enthusiasm can be dismissed as Bobby-Sox-For-Bobby (the same point made about his brother in '60). Still, the number of potential new voters who will have come of voting age between November 1964 and November 1968 is calculated at just over 12.5 million. With telling effect, Kennedy describes his meetings with young people in Africa and of his telling them that they have more in common with American youth than either has with the older generation. In Georgia and Kentucky voting begins at 18, in Alaska at 19 and in Hawaii at 20. The advertisements in any slick magazine show how the perennial accent on youth has been strengthened by the census announcement that more than half of the entire population is now under 25, and in opinion polls it is those over 50 who are most numerous in support of the President. Moreover, 1.5 million of the new voters are nonwhite, and Negro Democratic preference is now running heavily for Kennedy as against LBJ (72 to 23 percent, again according to Harris).

Primaries and Publicity

More reliable than population trends or the inchoate support of crowds along a parade route – though only somewhat reliable – is the response of qualified voters as expressed through state primaries. John Kennedy showed primary victories can be close to decisive – witness the highly improbable result in West Virginia that put Hubert Humphrey out of the race – and Bobby was his manager. A prominent Democratic official in Wisconsin said recently, privately, that Kennedy today would win against Johnson in a primary contest held in his state.

Estes Kefauver, trying this route, proved that you can win most of the battles and lose the war. Primaries are not, by themselves, enough. But an RFK candidacy would produce substantial delegate support in several weighty states – New York, Massachusetts, Connecti-

cut, most of northern New England. He might win the primary in California where there is very lively interest in RFK among the liberal rank and file. He is certain to pick up some votes in Pennsylvania, Ohio, the mountain states, and perhaps Michigan – but none in Texas. The real clincher is support among those who go, or decide who goes, to the convention. Kennedy currently receives from 250-300 speaking invitations a week. He has over recent months been credited with active support of candidates well up in the power structures of a number of states.

Why shouldn't Kennedy play it safe until '72, retaining his independence (no Hubert Humphrey role for him!), avoiding a head-on collision with the leader of his party? Mr. Johnson's current unpopularity is humiliating but by no means exceptional – ask Harry Truman. Robert Kennedy is, after all, only 41 – there's plenty of time. There seemed to be plenty of time for his brother too (JFK was 41 when he made the decision to go after the nomination). A politician must peak his efforts at the right moment.

Robert Kennedy's desire to be like his brother is consuming – and the largest single reason given for supporting him in today's polls is the conviction that he would be like his brother in office. His recent speeches give every evidence of his awareness that his greatest asset is the Kennedy myth. But myths fade – the number of people who remember with emotion the haunting timbre of FDR's voice is rapidly diminishing. At news of the assassination, at home and abroad, strong men wept; JFK was their symbol of youth and peace. The goodwill lingers, and on RFK's spectacularly successful African trip he picked up where his brother left off.

For a different constituency, the Jackie Kennedy myth is no less compelling. Lloyd Shearer, writing in the *Sunday Washington Post Parade* magazine of August 28, reports that "in the long history of the magazine publishing business there has been no female to equal her as a cover girl, a sales gimmick, an enduring editorial attraction." He quotes one publisher as saying: "The women won't give her up. For a fast minute a little while ago, we thought we might have a potential substitute in the Johnson girls, Lynda and Luci. Well, I let one of them share the cover with Jackie, and our sales slipped 5 percent." The memory of elegance in the White House is alive in the mass dreamworld of feminine America, whether still in high school or already installed as a homemaker. The Johnsons offer us beautification, the Kennedys gave us style. Robert and Ethel Kennedy need this image, for the fairy-tale-princess role in which Jackie succeeded Princess Grace is not Ethel's specialty, and Bobby's appearance has in it less of Camelot than of Donnybrook.

The myth is by no means RFK's only asset. He is a

contemporary operator in his own right. A recent report by senators on the sizes of their staffs from April to June 30 showed his to be the largest – 80 at one time or another, paid out of government funds. They included summer interns who eager-beavered around his office until they had to go back to school, where their experiences will lose nothing in the telling. Like his brother's, his staff members are bright in the brain, and deft with the hatchet arm. In addition to them, the senator is plugged into a loose network of intellectuals, a few still in government, most in universities.

Just Enough Ahead

Kennedy and his advisers have the job of finding techniques to establish a position different from that of Johnson, yet not so different as to remove RFK from the center of his party. Richard Goodwin's call in September for a No Wider War Committee is a sample of a potentially useful technique. Like all good middle-of-the-road techniques it invites the largest possible participation: members need only be opposed to escalation; those who believe the US has a valid purpose in South Vietnam and those who picket against all involvement are equally welcome. And the other issue such a committee raises, the credibility of an Administration that seemed bent on avoiding a land war in Asia and by now has over 300,000 men in South Vietnam without benefit of congressional recognition that this is a war, is as impeccable as being for motherhood and against sin.

The statements of Mr. Goodwin and the senator regarding the committee could hardly have been better calculated to bring RFK into just the right relationship with its work – the senator said he had not read Mr. Goodwin's speech, and Mr. Goodwin said he had not shown it to him though they had had a general discussion of its contents. This leaves the committee, as a body of free citizens, in a position to force a pace a little faster than the senator might publicly like to advocate. In view of the numbers, ability and strategic current private locations of alumni of the John F. Kennedy Administration, this technique could have application in other fields. It is working in New York, where the senator has grabbed the reform banner, but without alienating the regulars.

If the war gives RFK the kind of negative issue that attracts the "agin" vote, the shame of the cities gives him a positive rallying point for minorities and low-income voters who hold the big-city balance. RFK's opening shot in his war against the slums and urban decay came this summer in the hearings of the subcommittee on executive reorganization, chaired by Kennedy's good friend, Mr. Ribicoff (D, Conn.). Those hearings will be resumed in January. The more domestic poverty and urban redevelopment programs

are cut back to hold the inflationary line while military budgets balloon, the more continued movement to the suburbs leaves city centers derelict, the more this positive issue gains visibility.

A choice of whom to support, the President or the senator, would cause a serious split in organized labor, a segment of the Democratic Party without whose adherence nomination is difficult. Neither man raises enthusiasm in union executive suites, though rank and filers are more likely to go for Kennedy. The McClellan Committee hearings are unforgotten among union chiefs (and not just James Hoffa), and the senator's term as attorney general also left scars. AFL-CIO president George Meany would probably stick with the President, because of Vietnam and crusades against communism in general. UAW's Walter Reuther, on the other hand, might be drawn by an imaginatively stated Kennedy program for the big cities.

Among liberals in general, the RFK image has undergone major change this year: many who once deplored him as rough and ruthless, a carpetbagger in New York and hatchet man for a tribal incursion into national politics now voice gratitude. Yet politics loves a winner, and images are reversible. Given a break in the war situation, 1968 would be LBJ all the way. Without it, the future is less self-evident.



"Relax, Mr. President. I'm really behind you."

STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Politics as Romance*

Fifty years ago Rebecca West published her first book, a short study of Henry James. In it she wrote: "Politics plays a very great part . . . in *The Princess Casamassima*, but it is the peculiar magic of that strange book, which is at once able and distraught, wild and meticulous, that in it all perversities are somehow transmuted into loveliness." One must not tax the present Dame Rebecca with the opinions of her 24-year-old self; still it is notable that her latest book, a political novel, deals with an atmosphere of terrorism and revolution as does the James book, that it is both "wild and meticulous," and that Dame Rebecca has apparently tried to transmute its materials into loveliness.

*The Birds Fall Down**, says the author, is based on an actual historical incident at the turn of the century – a conversation on a train. We see the story from the viewpoint of an 18-year-old girl, daughter of an English father and a Russian mother, who visits her Russian grandfather in Paris. He is a count, exiled because he was innocently implicated in a political assassination but still fiercely loyal to the Tsar. His Parisian home is a minuscule Russian court, full of icons and intrigue. His chief loves are his church and his country, both centered in the Tsar. His chief enemies are the revolutionaries whose activities caused his exile, who are seeking to overthrow his Tsar and church and who, he thinks, would also like to murder him.

Accompanied by his granddaughter, he takes a train trip; and once they have started, a Russian terrorist named Chubinov enters their compartment. The count is nobly prepared for assassination. Instead he gets conversation – over a hundred discursive pages of it. Chubinov is a gently disputatious man whom the count once knew, and his garrulousness stimulates the count, who is himself no conversational slouch. Amidst the flood of reminiscences and talk on various subjects, it finally comes clear that Chubinov wants to warn the count about a trusted friend in the count's household who is a spy for the

terrorist party. The reason for the disclosure is the suspicion that the friend is a double spy, also working against the terrorist party. (Incidentally, publishers sometimes complain that reviewers spoil suspense by disclosing surprises. Viking Press discloses this surprise in its catalogue copy.)

The count leaves the train to return to Paris and take action, but he falls ill in a provincial town and dies. Chubinov later murders the putative double spy and explains his reasons to the granddaughter. Here is the author's point: Chubinov thinks that, by the murder, he has struck a blow, not only for Russian revolution but against the terrorists' rivals, the Russian Marxists and their leader Lenin. But with hindsight we can see that this terroristic act, of a kind that Lenin despised as self-indulgence, only strengthened the pragmatic Marxist position.

About Dame Rebecca's power with words there is not much left to say at this date except perhaps in definition. She is mistress of a style that makes British writers the cynosures of American magazine editors: the super-journalism of the extraordinarily literate, a rhetoric of daring and successful balances, a diction that is continually refreshed by neat surprises. It is a style that served excellently in, for instance, her memorable *New Yorker* articles and in her best work, *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon*. Here, in fiction, it is always smooth, sometimes pretty, but finally unsatisfactory. It is too self-conscious and proud for art, it is itself a "star," competing with artistic purposes. "The English Channel was to her a mentally deranged piece of water attended by a fellow-maniac, sea-sickness. . . ." Writing of that kind makes for superior articles in superior weeklies, and all of us literary journalists can envy it; but does it fit the subjectivity of an emotional Russian woman?

The book's structural weaknesses are surprising until we remember that, in her long career, Dame Rebecca has written only five novels and only three of the five in the last 30 years. For example, the one technical resource of the novel that every playwright covets is its

ease of exposition, its ability to establish essential facts without having to make them sound credible in the mouths of characters who already know them and would not be talking about them. (A stock expository device in the theatre is to bring in a newcomer to whom things have to be explained.) But Dame Rebecca spurns the novel's easier methods to put much of her exposition into dialogue – and sometimes overheard dialogue.

Again, the control of time is unsure. A scene will contain pages and pages of detailed conversation; then suddenly a few swift sentences of condensation appear ("They grumbled on. They talked about a lot of people."); and then the thick detail is as suddenly and inexplicably resumed.

Insofar as characterization is achieved, it is less by penetration than by insistence. We are told so often that a certain set of characteristics apply to a person that, in effect, we surrender. At least we accept him as an example of a general type, if not as the individual Dame Rebecca is aiming at. Real creation – by flash or by fulfillment – is not achieved.

But she knows her period, knows its locutions and social customs, its clothes and furnishings. All these, together with a sense of the author's intelligence, keep us following along, despite much dialogue that is inappropriate to the situation and many situations that cannot be believed (like the long scene on the station platform when the count is taken ill).

At the beginning we feel that the straining of credibility and the bloated dialogue are attempts to push the book into outsize "Russianness," dimensions supposedly suitable to its people and subject. But this attempt is made with such rhetorical display, such affection for minutiae of subplot, of ambience and irrelevancy that at last we suspect a misguided relation to Dame Rebecca's early Jamesian comment: perhaps she is trying to transmute her cruel materials into loveliness. And so we get a double irony.

The first is in her political theme: the futility of romantic politics. The count's
(Continued on Page 30)

* *The Birds Fall Down*, by Rebecca West, (Viking; \$5.95).

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Dos Passos' Chosen Country

by Kenneth S. Lynn

Like Thorstein Veblen, "Fighting Bob" La Follette, and the other lonely men whom he honors in *USA* for their "constitutional inability to say yes" to the dominant doctrines of the American mind, John Dos Passos has never been afraid to be different. In the era of laissez-faire capitalism his fictional spokesmen drank champagne toasts to "Revolution, to Anarchy, to the Socialist State"; with the dawn of the welfare economy they switched to the individualistic insistence that "if we want to straighten the people out we've got to start with number one"; future social changes will doubtless engender further disagreements between Mr. Dos Passos' voices and the *vox populi*. Yet to illustrate the intransigence of this Ishmaelite by examples of his political waywardness is merely to scratch the surface of his prickly genius. At heart, his formidable independence is a literary matter, and always has been. Alone of all our modern novelists, and in the face of a critical wisdom which has endlessly reiterated that American writers should stick to telling us about the particular cornpatch in which they were raised, Dos Passos has persisted for almost fifty years in his determination to catch both a continent and a century in the camera eye of his fiction—to project upon a panoramic screen so many varieties of American experience that they would constitute, when taken together, a comprehensive record of life in the United States since 1900. Like Whitman, whose *Leaves* he read and loved "as a kid," Dos Passos has endeavored to enfold an entire democracy within his vision—sailors and salesmen, bums and bankers, mechanics and mannequins, prostitutes and poets; and like Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall* he came to admire in his college days, he has tried to trace Time's corruption of the world's most powerful empire. He has wished, in sum, to "tell all." If he has not quite succeeded in doing so (one finds, for example, next to nothing

about Negro life in Dos Passos), his failures merely point up the unprecedented magnitude of the task he long ago set himself—and the unclassifiable grandeur of what he has now achieved.

The first real evidence of the largeness of Dos Passos' vision was *Three Soldiers* (1921). In a brilliant act of synthesis, he combined the Stephen Crane kind of war story, in which the horrors of the battlefield are set in ironic contrast against the manufactured romanticism of patriotic slogans, with the Jamesian story of young Americans abroad whose New World innocence is tested and shaken by the confrontation with Old World sophistication—and thereby established the form that the American war novel has followed ever since. Not only Faulkner's apprentice novel, *Soldier's Pay* (1926), which was written in naked imitation, and Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), whose account of how Frederic Henry makes his separate peace was obviously indebted to Dos Passos' story of John Andrews' disastrous defection, but all the World War II novels which show American soldiers emerging from their baptism in fire to encounter further initiations in the arms of Neapolitan street girls and Japanese geishas hark back to *Three Soldiers*. Dos Passos' pioneering book was also the first to emphasize the polyglot make-up of the modern American army and the first to acknowledge the intramural tensions between the conscripted sons of the old and new immigrations (an acknowledgement which Dos Passos was peculiarly fitted to make, for his mother was the descendant of a distinguished Maryland family and his father the offspring of a Portuguese immigrant), while the technical device he employed to accomplish these things—i.e., dividing the narrative focus among three soldiers of widely differing geographical and social backgrounds—has not merely received the flattery of frequent imi-

tation, it has become one of the most resounding clichés of contemporary fiction.

The imaginative freshness and trail-blazing originality of *Three Soldiers* have been manifested again and again in the course of Dos Passos' career. In *Number One* (1943), for example, he portrayed a demagogue who was not only a savage reincarnation of the late Huey Long, but a symbol, of the widest general significance, of the suspicions and the resentments which have already smoldered at the secret heart of the populist personality. No serious American writer had previously had the wit—or the courage—to depict the irrational behavior to which such feelings could lead (except Frank Norris, and Norris had reveled in the xenophobia he uncovered), and when Robert Penn Warren took up the "case" of the Louisiana Kingfish a few years after Dos Passos, he was more interested in its metaphysical than its political implications.

By the time other students of the American scene were concerning themselves with the dynamics of American fascism, Dos Passos had moved on to the even more tricky and painful subject of home-grown communism. *Most Likely to Succeed* (1954) is probably the bitterest book Dos Passos ever wrote, but it is as illuminating as it is excoriating. Whereas other writers with left-wing memories have spent most of their energies on summoning up remembrances of the 1930's, Dos Passos' novel shows that the Depression years tell only half the story. With his characteristically wide-angled perspective on the past, Dos Passos conceived of the whole interwar period as a continuity, and *Most Likely to Succeed* is a devastating demonstration of how the ferocious leftist infighting in the off-Broadway theatrical world of the 1920's was the perfect sort of training for later

This essay is Mr. Lynn's introduction to the John Dos Passos anthology, World in a Glass, to be published next month by Houghton Mifflin Company. Copyright© 1966 by John Dos Passos.

survival in the lawless jungle of the Hollywood studios; of how the irresponsible bohemianism of private lives in Greenwich Village easily led to the deer-park ambience of the Pacific Slopes; of how communism could initially appeal to a conceited young man as the political expression of his contemptuously anti-bourgeois aesthetic – and then become a desperate guarantee against guilt feelings after artistic honor has been sold for a mess of movie dollars. By connecting the sickness of the thirties with the infections of the twenties, by understanding the inhumanities of communism as the consequence of the decay of traditional American values, Dos Passos' bitter book opens up the meaning of a dark and baffling period in American history as no other novel, historical analysis, or ex-radical "confessional" has ever done.

Impressive, however, as such special studies as *Number One* and *Most Likely to Succeed* may be, and as poignant as are the autobiographical recollections in *Chosen Country* (1951) and *The Great Days* (1958), the core of the Dos Passos canon, and the basis of his claim to greatness, consists of the five books which move across the entire range of the American social spectrum. *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), the three vol-

umes *USA* (1930-1936), and *Midcentury* (1960).

Thematically, *Manhattan Transfer* falls squarely in the center of an important literary succession: on the one hand, it looks back to William Dean Howells' panoramic survey of the New York scene in *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890); on the other hand, it anticipates Thomas Wolfe's gargantuan evocations of Brooklyn and Manhattan in *Of Time and the River* (1935) and *You Can't Go Home Again* (1940). But stylistically *Manhattan Transfer* is utterly unlike these novels. Dos Passos' prose lacks the density, the marvelous piling-up of detail, that makes the reader of Howells and Wolfe feel that his senses are all but directly in contact with the sights, sounds, and smells of the metropolis. The style of *Manhattan Transfer* has altogether different qualities, which are as special with Dos Passos as his signature, and which lend to the book an excitement equaled by no other New York novel ever written. With a jagged, broken rhythm that Dos Passos apparently absorbed from his fascination with the movies, the camera eye of the novel ranges restlessly across the city, swooping in for a "shot" and then moving out again, cutting abruptly from the barge captain who is exasperated at having to fish Bud Korpenning's

lifeless body out of the river, to the bizarre inhabitants of the theatrical boardinghouse where the unhappy young actress Ellen Thatcher lives, to the ruined "Wizard of Wall Street" cadging whiskey money on the Bowery; from the sound of a newborn baby squalling in a hospital, to the unctuous patter of a real estate agent, to a quarrel between an overwrought Jewish girl and her immigrant mother ("But Rosie, married life ain't all beer and skittles. A wife must submit and work for her husband." ". . . But I ain't a Jew no more," screeched the young girl. "This ain't Russia; it's little old New York.") In these strange, hurried scenarios there are no portraits-in-depth, no leisurely evocations of atmosphere, only a split-second responsiveness to the sensuous details of a fleeting image, a beautiful alertness to the nuances of all voices, whether heard or overheard ("the mind of a generation," Dos Passos once wrote, "is its speech"), and an instinct for the jugular in every human situation, no matter how briefly described – while over all the fragments of frenzied lives of which the novel is composed there presides a historical consciousness of a more haunting, more implacable movement: the blind tumbling-forward of everyone and everything down the stream of Time. Thus Dos Passos' camera eye is not only constantly switching focus in any given day, it is also forever scanning forward from today to tomorrow – from the era when there were still empty lots on Broadway ("where tin cans glittered among grass and sumach bushes and ragweed, between ranks of billboards and Bull Durham signs") to the time when a line of cheap hotels has filled up the street (such as the tawdry place where Anna the dressmaker gives the out-of-town buyer "a good time"); from the period when George Baldwin was an ambulance-chasing lawyer to his emergence as a "reform" politician; from Congo Jake the hard-up sailor to Congo Jake the affluent bootlegger. The fire engines that are recurrently heard or seen racing through the crowded streets were intended by Dos Passos to be his leading symbol of the fast-moving, exhilaratingly beautiful, and stupefyingly frightening city that owns them, but in fact the most meaningful emblem of Manhattan in *Manhattan Transfer*, and the quality that makes the book the

Seal In Nature

Seen from down the beach, the seal seemed a polished piece of the rock he was on. Closer approached, he became distinct from the boat-shaped barnacled mineral mass, twenty yards safe from shore, he had chosen to be his pedestal – a living sculpture, a Noguchi, an Arp, a Brancusi smoothed from a flexible wood whose grain was hair, whose gray was white in the abstract glisten, and black where his curve asked a shadow.

Sea his amphitheatre, the rippling mammal, both water and stone, performed aloof wonders: he wound the line of horizon on his nose, and scratched his back with the top of his head, and, twisting like a Möbius strip, addressed the sky with a hollowing ululant howl echoing empty epochs when, in acres of basalt sown thick with steam, spaced stars of life took antic shapes and God was an undreamt dream.

JOHN UPDIKE

most original work of American fiction of the 1920's, is the darting, hectic, haunted mode of the narration. The style of the novel is New York—or as close to it, at any rate, as any writer has ever come.

In *USA* Dos Passos raised his sights from a city to a nation, and much later in *Midcentury* he repeated the effort. Unlike *Manhattan Transfer*, these books cannot be compared to any purpose with the work of other writers. Novelistically, they are *sui generis*; indeed, in their dazzling mixture of biography and fiction, of poetry and social documentary, of autobiographical reminiscence and mass-cult pastiche, they at least partially transcend the novel-form, creating a kind of literature so radically new that it is still unnamed, and that may very well have had more of a technical influence on the way American history is now written (Oscar Handlin's *The Americans* is a recent example of the Dos Passos methodology) than it has on the literary practice of even the most experimental of younger novelists.

The first and foremost purpose of Dos Passos' experimentation in *USA* was to record a language. *USA* is a veritable anthology of the American idiom—of Texas drawl, Harvard broad "a," and immigrant pidgin; of middle-class female twaddle and proletarian male coarseness; of popular songs, advertising slogans, and fragments from the yellow press. Furthermore, the time-span of the trilogy covers the thirty years from Admiral Dewey's invasion of the Philippines to the stock-market crash of 1929, and the texture of Dos Passos' prose continually adapts to the thousands of alterations, some of them subtle, some of them blatant, which American expression underwent during this period. When we meet Doc Bingham at the beginning of the first volume, the extraordinarily versatile and florid lingo which he brings to his salesmanship of dirty books and religious tracts makes him sound like the last of the old-time confidence men—like the younger brother, perhaps, of the fraudulent King who made life hell for Huck Finn and Nigger Jim; but when we encounter Bingham again, toward the end of the third volume, he is pushing a health-fad "philosophy" which sounds remarkably like the pseudo-scientific nutritional pitch that lifted Bernarr



Love thy neighbor's child . . .

MARIA ROMERO, ECUADORIAN, AGE 7. One of four children. Father day laborer. Mother washerwoman. Combined income \$22 per month. Barely able to survive. All undernourished. Sad child, has had smallpox and whooping cough. Now suffers from parasites. Live in poorest, unhealthiest quarter in small, miserable house. Hardly any furnishings. No facilities. No sewage. No water. Family struggles to send children to school. Parents deeply distressed for children they cannot feed and clothe adequately. Help to Maria means help to whole family.

Thousands of children as needy as Maria anxiously await "adoption by you or your group. You can choose a boy or girl from any of the countries where Foster Parents' Plan has offices—Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Columbia, Ecuador or Peru. Your child receives \$8 a month of your money in cash as well as blankets, household equipment, clothing, medical care — and education. EVERY PLAN CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE MUST ATTEND SCHOOL. Through your help the child will become a productive citizen of his country, a loyal friend of ours. You receive a case history and photograph. Every month you write and receive a letter (original and translation), PLAN's local social workers and our resident American Directors are always on-the-spot, ready to provide medical aid, counselling and guidance to your child and his family. Soon, through the regular letters and progress reports, you and your child develop a warm, loving relationship. "Adopt" a child the responsible way — through Foster Parents' Plan.

CHECK YOUR CHARITY! PLAN never employs professional fund-raisers. We eagerly offer our financial statement upon request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, independent relief organization, approved by the United States Government, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development and filed with the National Information and the National Better Business Bureaus in New York City. © Foster Parents' Plan, Inc. 1966

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010—FOUNDED 1937

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
Helen Hayes
Conrad N. Hilton
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Sen. Robert F. Kennedy
Art Linkletter
Amb. & Mrs.
Henry Cabot Lodge
Garry Moore
Sen. William Proxmire
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Sarnoff
Gov. & Mrs.
William W. Scranton
Sen. John G. Tower

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC.

NR-10-66

352 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010

In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex _____, age _____, nationality _____.

I will pay \$15 a month for one year or more (\$180 per year). Payment will be monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, annually ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment \$_____.

B. I cannot "adopt" a child, but I would like to help a child by contributing \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Date _____ Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

Macfadden to fame and wealth in the 1920's. The permutations in political oratory, from the grandiloquent imperialism of Albert J. Beveridge to the highfalutin idealism of Woodrow Wilson to the crassly provincial realism of Calvin Coolidge, offer equally rich contrasts, as do the changing manners of sexual invitation—especially as exemplified by the disingenuous chatter of Annabelle Marie Strang in the summer of 1909 and the flippancies favored by Margo Dowling twenty years later. Out of his sensitivity to linguistic changes, Dos Passos created in *USA* not only an anthology, but a morphology of modern American speech.

Midcentury is in its own right a fascinating book. By a similar diversification of narrative techniques, it evokes the period 1945-1960 as effectively as *USA* summons forth an earlier era. But *Midcentury* becomes even more fascinating when it is read in conjunction with the trilogy it so closely resembles—when it is listened to as if it were the coda to a great American symphony. For in doing so we gain a unique understanding of what has happened to us as a people in

the course of a fantastic century. *USA*, for example, unfolds saga after saga of how poor boys made their way from rags to riches:

"Samuel Insull landed in America on a raw March day in eightyone. Immediately he was taken out to Menlo Park, shown about the little group of laboratories, saw the strings of electriclightbulbs shining at intervals across the snowy lots, all lit from the world's first central electric station. Edison put him right to work and he wasn't through till midnight. Next morning at six he was on the job; Edison had no use for any nonsense about hours or vacations. Insull worked from that time on until he was seventy without a break; no nonsense about hours or vacations. Electric power turned the ladder into an elevator."

But *Midcentury* introduces us to a new kind of American success story, in which self-indulgence has replaced ruthlessness as the golden key:

"In the drab summer desert of New York, James Dean lacked friends; he lacked girls, he lacked dough;

but when the chance came he knew how to grab it: a young director took an interest, invited him out sailing on a sloop on the Sound—farmboy turned deckhand—gave him a part in a show which immediately flopped;

but he'd been seen on the stage. Next he played the blackmailing Arab in a dramatization of André Gide's *The Immoraliste*. He walked out on the part, the play closed, but he'd been seen by people who knew show business: rave writeups: he was an actor.

They took him on to study at the Actor's Studio. The Actor's Studio was celebrity's lobby in those days. That year Marlon Brando was the artistic idol of the screen. Directors saw a young Brando in Dean (the hepcat school, sideburns and a rat's nest for hair, leather jackets, jackboots and a motorcycle at the curb. These are tough guys, delinquents; but sensitive: Great God how they're sensitive). Elia Kazan hired him to play a sinister adolescent: 'Live the part,' Stanislavski told his actors.

Dean did just that. He was obstreperous as hell. 'I can't divert into being a social human being,' he snarled at the reporters through the butt that dangled from his lip, 'when I'm working on a hero who's essentially demonic.'

Demonic, but lovable under it all.

The sinister adolescent was box office. Long before the picture was released he was besieged by Hollywood agents, promoters, feature writers, photographers."

As late as the 1920's, the world of science had been comprehensible to the mind of the layman:

NEWLY DESIGNED GEARS AFFORDING NOT ONLY GREATER STRENGTH AND LONGER LIFE BUT INCREASED SMOOTHNESS NEW CLUTCH—AN ENGINEERING ACHIEVEMENT THAT ADDS WONDERFUL POSITIVENESS TO POWER TRANSMISSION THAT MAKES GEARSHIFTING EASY AND NOISELESS

But by the end of the Second World War, scientific talk had become disturbingly, even frighteningly, strange:

"At a few degrees above absolute zero the application even of a small electric field to a sample of germanium will grossly affect equilibrium of the conduction of electrons and increase their average energy by a factor of twenty five or more. . . ."

The lines of connection (and contrast) can be endlessly projected: from the Cape Cod cottage to the split-level ranch; from the anodyne of bootleg booze to the tranquilization of the Mil-town; from a solitary, penniless young man named Vag, walking down a road in quest of the just America of his dreams, to that merciless parody of Holden Caulfield named Stan Goodspeed, who loads up with his uncle's credit cards and takes off in search of kicks and chicks. Time, in Dos Passos, is a tissue of ironies.

USA was informed by the idea that Big Business was the chief threat to individual freedom in America, whereas *Midcentury* insists that Big Labor is the power which threatens our liberties. (For all his admiration of Veblen, it took Dos Passos many years to learn the master's bitter lesson that the

EDMUND WILSON

Europe Without Baedeker

A new edition of Wilson's famous book of travel impressions, which has been out of print for many years. With a new section: "Notes from a Diary of 1963-64: Paris, Rome, Budapest" — now in book form for the first time. \$6.50

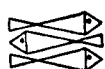
The Children of the South

by MARGARET ANDERSON

A young Southern teacher's personal story of the impact of school desegregation on all the children of the South, black and white. "It will be remembered and kept when many other books coming out of the fever and torment of the South will be forgotten."

—RALPH MCGILL, in his Foreword. \$4.95

Now at your bookstore



FARRAR
STRAUS
GIROUX

Now Available—The Books You WANT to Read

NEW REPUBLIC BOOK SERVICE

Special Money-Saving Prices on Most Books

Here is an opportunity to get select books delivered directly to you . . . saving time and money.

The following books have been reviewed in recent issues of the NEW REPUBLIC. For complete descriptions consult the respective issues. Each book is available at a special discount of 20% off the published price.

42a—**A THOUSAND DAYS** by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. John F. Kennedy in the White House.
(Retail Price \$9.00) **\$7.20**

116a—**THE PROUD TOWER** by Barbara W. Tuchman. A portrait of the world before the War: 1890-1914.
(Retail Price \$7.95) **\$6.35**

133a—**OMENSETTER'S LUCK** by William H. Gass. A novel.
(Retail Price \$5.95) **\$4.75**

173a—**THE BIT BETWEEN MY TEETH** by Edmund Wilson. 44 essays.
(Retail Price \$7.50) **\$6.00**

174a—**POWER AND IMPOTENCE: The Failure of America's Foreign Policy** by Edmund Stillman and William Pfaff.
(Retail Price \$4.95) **\$3.95**

175a—**MEN WITHOUT GUNS** by George K. Tanham. Firsthand experience of the AID programs in three Vietnam provinces.
(Retail Price \$4.95) **\$3.95**

176a—**THE ANTI-DEATH LEAGUE** by Kingsley Amis. A novel.
(Retail Price \$4.95) **\$3.95**

177a—**DE GAULLE, A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY** by Alexander Wirth.
(Retail Price \$7.50) **\$6.00**

178a—**NO LAURELS FOR DE GAULLE** by Robert Mengin. Translated by Jay Allen.
(Retail Price \$6.95) **\$5.56**

179a—**THE PARTY THAT LOST ITS HEAD** by George F. Gilder and Bruce K. Chapman. Which GOP is it to be?
(Retail Price \$6.95) **\$5.56**

180a—**WHITEWASH** by Harold Weisberg. A critical look at the Warren Commission's Report.
(Retail Price \$4.95) **\$3.95**

OTHER RECOMMENDED BOOKS

2—**HOW TO ARGUE WITH A CONSERVATIVE** by Neil Staebler and Douglas Ross. Addressed openly to liberals, it gives a full platform to the conservative point of view on every subject, and it presents in reply the liberal's answer. An essential handbook for liberals, essential homework for conservatives.
\$4.50

181—**NONVIOLENCE IN AMERICA, A Documentary History** by Staughton Lynd. The first effort to piece together the many strands of nonviolent tradition in the U.S.
\$7.50

182—**THE AMERICAN WRITER AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION** by Harvey Swados. An anthology of writings from the 1930's that presents the effects of the depression on all segments of the American people.
\$7.50

183—**NEGRO PROTEST THOUGHT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY** by August Meier and Francis L. Broderick. The philosophies, tactics, and strategies of the many groups involved in the movement.
\$7.50

184—**ROCKEFELLER'S FOLLIES, An Unauthorized View of Nelson A. Rockefeller** by William H. Rogers. An analysis of the political career of New York's governor.
\$5.95

186—**LANDSCAPE IN CONCRETE** by Jakov Lind. One one post-war Germany's most interesting writers tells a tale of Europe under the Third Reich. **\$4.50**

187—**THE AMERICAN MALE, A Penetrating Look at the Masculinity Crisis** by Myron Brenton. A controversial study of the contemporary American male and a new concept of masculinity.
\$5.95

188—**THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE** by David Hawke. An understanding and an appreciation of the many cultures which formed our early society. Many illustrations from the fields of religion, economics and social thought. Illustrated.
\$10.00

189—**THE LOBBYISTS** by James Deakin. An up-to-date and authoritative book about the technique used to influence Congress.
\$6.00

190—**THE CREATIVE ELITE IN AMERICA** by Nathaniel Weyl. An original and provocative book about the dominant characteristics and contributions of major elite groups.
\$6.00

USE THIS HANDY ORDER FORM

NEW REPUBLIC BOOK SERVICE
1244 19th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Please send to me the book(s) circled below. Enclosed is my check or money order for \$_____.

2 42a 116a 133a 173a 174a 175a
176a 177a 178a 179a 180a 181
182 183 184 186 187 188 189 190

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

No charge orders accepted—for foreign shipment add 50 cents, each book.

workers, too, are corruptible.) Yet for all the anti-union indignation that *Mid-century* generates, the book is not nearly as dogmatic in its conservatism as the trilogy was in its radicalism, because Dos Passos is today a humbler and a more troubled man than he was thirty years ago. In the early novels, Dos Passos' typical hero was a young man full of passionate intensities – like Martin Howe in *One Man's Initiation* (1920), or the Harvardman, Wendell, in *Streets of Night* – a young man who was avant-garde in his art and radical in his politics, and who believed that if we could but escape from the past, wipe the slate clean, we could build a better world. This burning belief, which is significantly protected against the acid of the author's otherwise pervasive scorn, towers into a pillar of fire in the three volumes of *USA*. Evil institutions, these books proclaim, must be brought to judgment; Walt Whitman's "storybook democracy" will arise again only by a total reconstitution of society; history, in a word, must go. Thus Dos Passos entered the labyrinth of our twentieth-century past in order to prepare the way for the demolition teams. But the act of recapturing Time had an unexpected effect upon him. Critics who have written about Dos Passos' journey to Spain during the Civil War, and who point to his shocking discovery while there of how ruthlessly the communists were undercutting their supposed allies within the Popular Front as the operative cause of his disillusionment with radicalism, miss the point; the central experience in Dos Passos' political education in the early 1930's was the titanic labor of creating *USA*. The trilogy changed the man who wrote it, inducing in him a new respect for "the ground we stand on," a new awareness of historical continuity, a new appreciation of the complexities of human motivation. History was not escapable, after all,

nor was it as simple as it had seemed.

In the novels after *USA*, we no longer look at American life through the eyes of a fervent and iconoclastic young man; we view men and events through the bloodshot vision of Tyler Spotswood in *Number One* or Ro Lancaster in *The Great Days*. There are no passionate intensities in these men's lives, unless it be the nauseating memory of earlier mistakes: last night's drunk is over, and now the morning after is full upon them, with all its physical and mental punishments. Their hangovers are the symbols of Dos Passos' trou-

bled consciousness, his anguished appreciation of how difficult it is to understand the times we live in. The battle-cry of *USA* – "all right we are two nations" – evokes the certainty of the younger author's mind, while the title Dos Passos gives to his *Mid-century* sketch of J. Robert Oppenheimer – "The Uncertainty Principle" – indicates the older writer's state of mind. Dos Passos in the 1960's is less sure about everything in his "chosen country," but his power to communicate his doubts is the source of our undiminished interest in an amazing career.

History From Abbe to Zworykin

by Alexander R. Butler

Thomas H. Johnson has written a superb dictionary of American history as he tours our past from Abbe to Zworykin. One would expect librarians, teachers and high school and college students to delight in so handy a one-volume reference work, but the general reader may well find this work as good an introduction to American history as any chronological treatment. The

*The Oxford Companion to
American History*
by Thomas H. Johnson
(Oxford; \$12.50)

book invites browsing, for there is an inherent fascination in testing one's imagination with the possible relationships between such diverse entries on one page as Middle Border, Middle Passage, Middle West, Midnight Judges, Battle of Midway, Midway Islands, Mies van der Rohe and Migratory Labor. Such subjects, when they are taken away from the tyranny which chronology tends to impose, and subjected to the tyranny which the alphabet imposes, such subjects seem better able to challenge the imagination and to remind the reader that there is much in the past that is discontinuous and much that has no relevant or coherent explanation. If this be the nature of our yesterdays, then perhaps our to-days and tomorrows need not shame us because of our inability to understand or to control either of them. Max Planck, as well as St. Thomas Aquinas,

have argued that things can move from one place to another in time without traversing the space between. And one lesson of history may be that the past is not a continuous thread of influences binding us to a given behavior for the present and the future, but that the past is a series of disconnected events which we may arrange as we choose for the delight of our moral or aesthetic sensibilities. Although few will ever read this book from cover to cover, just sampling here and there will reveal that American history still retains strangely new and exciting facets of reality.

Some 1,800 brief biographies of political, social, economic and cultural leaders make up one-third of this *Oxford Companion*. The other two-thirds consist of short articles on topics such as business cycles, the Hudson River School, the Pullman Strike, important Supreme Court decisions and terms such as "penny press" or "jazz." All these are tied together by a quickly recognizable scheme of cross-references. The article on jazz, for example, refers to biographies of Jelly Roll Morton, Bix Beiderbecke and Louis Armstrong. Although one might complain that some very important jazz musicians are omitted, for a brief beginning – and that is all any *Oxford Companion* pretends to be – the author need not apologize. Other cross-references refer to W. C. Handy, Jack Teagarden, Bessie Smith, Charlie Parker, Scott Joplin, spirituals, Tin Pan Alley, etc. The bi-

POSTERS OF THE PAST

Rare American posters, exact reproduction. New look for home, office, den & school. Exceptional values.

K4-Lincoln Campaign poster	85c
K6-Negro Slave Sale poster	50c
P2-Stagecoach Travel poster	50c
P11-Jesse James Reward	25c
P39-Barnum Circus program	50c
C63-Civil War Recruiting	35c
R1-Amer. Revolution Recruiting	50c
P1-Amer. Rev. British Recruiting	65c
Complete catalog	10c
Minimum order \$2. Add 15c for mailing. Pioneer Hist. Society, Dept. NR, Harriman, Tenn. 37748.	

ographies of authors are very short, and only their major works are mentioned because *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* has already treated both in greater detail.

On the whole, Johnson editorializes gently and succinctly. He usually ends his account of the major figures with some general comment. He concludes his biography of Warren G. Harding this way:

"Simple, friendly, and easy-going, he could not resist more unscrupulous wills, and his sudden death spared him from the aftermath of events which had revealed an Administration both incompetent and corrupt."

Given a sentence or two, I doubt that anyone could do better than Johnson does when he writes of the complicated person that was John Quincy Adams:

"Reserved and austere, at times irascible and harsh, he took to heart the rancor of an opposition in public life which his sturdy independence aroused. Yet in the light of history his qualities of principle, of courage and of action have given him stature as perhaps the greatest of all in that family which for four generations devoted its considerable talents to the public good."

Even without the cross-references the reader could hardly resist turning back to review the careers of John, Henry, Charles Francis and Brooks Adams.

Yet, let me emphasize again, what ennobles *The Oxford Companion to American History* is not merely a judicious treatment of political figures and political life, but many other aspects of the American scene as well. Johnson writes of the famous Fruitlands experiment:

"Alcott sought to restore the 'Orphic life' of communing austerely with nature in its pristine beauty. Winter ended the experiment, and the Alcotts returned to Concord."

So we have not only the fallibility of the utopian socialists and the especial weakness of Bronson Alcott—the division between idea and action, between dream and reality—contained in two brief sentences, but the suggestion of

Gentlemen: If you purchase this shaver, we promise never to repair it.

But we will promise you this, and in writing: If anything goes wrong within one year we will send you an all-new ACCUMEN Shaver. After that one-year guarantee period, and if you are unhappy with the shaver for any reason, return it to us—even if it's thirteen years from now—and for just \$12.95 we'll send you the newest "top-of-the-line" model available at the time. (We fully realize that \$12.95 may be worth only \$2.95 thirteen years from now. But that's our hard luck). And then you can start this all over again with that new shaver—for another thirteen years if you wish. That's why we call it the "ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan."

If this sounds like an unprecedented offer, you are correct. It is. And if you think there must be some "gimmick" involved, you are also correct. There is. We would not stick our necks out so far and for so long if we weren't quite sure that the ACCUMEN will give you trouble-free satisfaction from now until the cows come home. What makes us so sure? Just this: We have observed the ACCUMEN's performance for years in Europe and since we introduced it to this country. We have talked to hundreds of really satisfied owners. We have "fan letters" by the score. Finally, we know what it's made of and how it's made. It will be a rare ACCUMEN that falters or disappoints.

This is the Ultimate Shaver — we think this is the finest shaver made in the world today. Cordless or otherwise. In our opinion it makes all others obsolete. Very few of our competitors describe their shavers as "second best," so we quite understand if you take all of these claims with a heaping spoonful of salt. But, here, for your consideration, are the principal reasons why we believe the ACCUMEN to be "The Ultimate."

1. The Powerplant: A high-potential nickel-cadmium battery, which will give you at least ten to fifteen good shaves before recharging. As an aside: The president of Witte & Sutor (manufacturers of the ACCUMEN) is none other than Herr Waldemar Witte, the inventor of the rechargeable flashlight. He ought to know!

2. The Motor: The "synchromesh" motor is a 6000 rpm. marvel of German engineering. Barium ferrite permanent magnets, self-lubricating bearings and copper-carbon brushes assure a long, hardworking life.

3. The Shaving Head: Shaving area $2\frac{1}{2}$ times larger than that of any other rotary shaver. Ultrathin foil (.00315"). Four stainless steel cutters are individually sprung and balanced and can operate independently to adapt to the minutest contour of your face (this is a truly radical innovation—have you ever noticed how your present shaver is built on the same principle as a lawn mower?)

And then the marvelous extras: The patented "LumiRing" that spotlights the working area for perfect shaves in any light. Vacuum action that keeps your whiskers from your clothing. And, as far as we know, this is the only shaver in the civilized world that is rechargeable directly from any wall socket—no transformers, no "power cords." The ACCUMEN is lockable, to keep it exclusively yours (sorry, teenagers). Then, there is a built-in shave counter. Last, and probably least, women are wild about the ACCUMEN, because the shaving head is round and smooth and has no sharp edges. (But, please, buy her one of her own.)

Still more. The ACCUMEN is not just the finest shaver in the world. The optional attachments make it a complete grooming system — among other things. Look at the choice in the coupon and help yourself.



Should you Buy a Shaver by Mail — Sight Unseen? It may be unorthodox, but the only way to buy this shaver at this price (on this side of the Atlantic) is from us, the exclusive importer/retailers. Be that as it may—why not? What's the risk? You order the ACCUMEN not only with the one-year new-shaver guarantee; not only with the \$12.95 ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan, but with this added assurance:

Unconditional Promise: Try the ACCUMEN for two weeks. Then, if you don't agree it is indeed "The Ultimate," send it back to us and we'll return your money by air mail and write you a nice thank-you letter.

That's it. For the price of an ordinary, run-of-the-mill shaver you can now shave with the pride of Europe. The ACCUMEN. The Ultimate Shaver. The only electric shaver that shaves close enough (in the woods or at home) to satisfy "blade men." And the only shaver in the world that will never be repaired, but that offers the exclusive ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan.

STEP INTO A NEW WORLD OF 1966

SHAVING LUXURY — TODAY

Mail to: HAVERHILL'S TNR 1015
526 Washington St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111

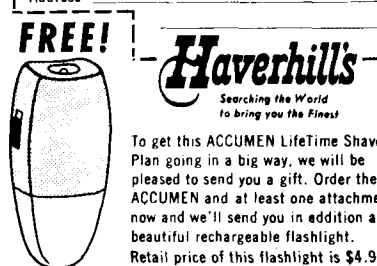
Please enroll me in the ACCUMEN LifeTime Shaver Plan, subject to the stated guarantee. I will also receive free the \$4.95 rechargeable flashlight if I purchase at least one attachment in addition to the ACCUMEN. Please send me the following:

- ☐ *ACCUMEN rechargeable shaver with zippered case, mirror and brush - \$24.95.
- ☐ *Hairclipper Attachment - \$4.95.
- ☐ *Massage/Hairbrush Attachments, both - \$4.95.
- ☐ *White Flashlight Attachment - \$4.95.
- ☐ *Yellow Blinker Attachment - \$4.95.
- ☐ *Automobile Charging Unit (12v or 6v) - \$4.95.
- ☐ Foil/Cutter (spare - for next year) - \$4.95.
- ☐ Praktikus-5, all items marked with an *, in a beautiful zippered gift case, only \$39.95. (Instead of \$44.75 if purchased separately.)

Check, plus \$1 for postage & insur., enclosed.
☐ Dinners ☐ Am. Exp. Acct ☐
(California Residents Add 4% Sales Tax.)

Name _____

Address _____



the social conditions of the 1830's and 1840's which drove men back to nature in the hope of finding the eternal verities – often borrowed from the classical tradition – which could counteract the reality of a rapidly changing society, changing so much and so often as to seem not only beyond control but beyond imagination. The author's obvious care and attention to the small matters of the past which can suggest the larger issues in our society makes this dictionary extremely valuable.

Inevitable, of course, are the really minor matters such as articles on Arbor Day or "gringo," the biographies of the men who invented nylon or saccharine. There are the details of the lives of Theda Bara, Mike Fink and Annie Oakley; and there are some biographies you might not at first expect to find in any *Companion to American History*: Charles Townshend, George III and Winston Spencer Churchill. Johnson seems to have omitted little which either the ordinary citizen or the specialist might wish to have in a book of general reference.

Since most of the other recent dictionaries of American history are arranged in chronological order and are cumbersome to use, Johnson's *Oxford Companion* has no real competitor. What is more, Johnson has set an exceptionally high standard for his possible successors. His scholarship is modestly presented, generally only references to one or two recent books for an important biography, but a careful reading indicates that he has done more than casual research. He has the uncommon ability to suggest with a few words a wide variety of historical viewpoints so

that the biographies and articles, short though they are, do not emphasize the facts themselves but the interpretation of the facts. This skill alone would make the *Oxford Companion* superior to its predecessors, whether chronologically or alphabetically arranged. Add Johnson's ability to be nostalgic and slightly sentimental in one article and then humorously tolerant of simple-mindedness in the next and you have talents difficult to fault. The Oxford University Press has a new reference work fully equal to the other distinguished ones which they have published.

Shapes of the Future

by Alex Campbell

In these two otherwise quite differently oriented books, Heilbroner and Toynbee are attempting to read mankind's future – and they come up with surprisingly similar fates despite the disparity in size of their respective crystal balls. Whilst Heilbroner balances his hypothetical future on the narrow base of a mere 150 past years of capitalism, Toynbee's broad launching pad in-

Heilbroner's "hope" is that "within a generation or so" all of us – Americans, Russians, Chinese too – will be too busy trying to cope with population, power and pollution problems to have much time to spare for "ideological fervor." Capitalism *vs.* communism will become as old hat as catholicism *vs.* protestantism. Science and technology are pushing capitalism steadily closer to planning and control.

Meantime, however, the old Adam apparently dies hard. Heilbroner would like to think that the supercorporation which is capitalism's current avatar is already permitting itself to be transformed into the sort of science-minded planning body he glimpses. The American economy, he admits, is dominated and virtually controlled by about 150 financial and industrial units with megatonnage; but "the power of the big corporation to exploit" has been "substantially curtailed," and "for perhaps the first time in American history there is no longer any substantial intellectual opposition to the system of business nor any serious questioning of its economic privileges and benefits."

If the latter is true, Heilbroner should be sounding the tocsin rather than compounding the bromide, for on his own showing the former seems to be more false than true. The power of the big corporation to exploit may possibly have been blunted in purely economic terms – though it's difficult to concede even this much, with Heilbroner testi-

Few men
in any era
have what it takes
both to win
political power
and then to govern
effectively.

This is the arresting theme of a new book by an eminent Harvard professor and lawyer, who cites cases-in-point that range from Caesar to the American Presidency today.

THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S

by MILTON KATZ

\$4.95 • now at better bookstores

ALFRED A. KNOPF



The Limits of American Capitalism
by Robert L. Heilbroner
(Harper & Row; \$4.95)

*Change and Habit: The Challenge
of Our Time*
by Arnold J. Toynbee
(Oxford; \$5.50)

cludes 25 centuries of higher religions, fifty centuries of statehood, and some 40,000 generations of hominid. Yet, both predict a scientifically organized world system, heavily emphasizing planning and technology. That, it seems, is the way we are all now going, for good or ill.

Is it "communism"? Both authors tend to think the cold war irrelevant on the larger view. Better dead than Red? Think, urges Toynbee, of "the 1,300-years-long history of Christian totalitarianism." Forty generations of doubters had a bad time, but what's 40 out of 40,000? Better dead than Red sounds a bit silly when one's time-scale embraces another 2 billion years or so still to be passed on earth by men.

A GUIDE FOR SOPHISTICATED COUPLES WHO ARE READY FOR NEW HORIZONS

Sexual Adventure in Marriage

A FEW YEARS AGO, in their book *Sexual Pleasure in Marriage*, Jerome and Julia Rainer pointed the way for all married couples to achieve a healthy, uninhibited enjoyment of physical love. So fresh, so reassuring was the approach offered by this book that it became an international bestseller.

But there remained much more that needed to be said on the subject of married love. In recognition of this, the Rainers have written a new book called *SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE* — addressed to couples who are ready to explore exciting new areas of intimacy.

This book opens the door to a whole new world of erotic adventure — a world waiting to be explored by husbands and wives who truly love each other, and are willing to bring to their love the attention and imagination it deserves.

Is Adventure Perversion?

SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE spells out, in detail, many practices that may seem unfamiliar and strange at first. Is there, for this reason, any danger of perversion if the suggestions in its pages are followed?

The authors answer this question with one of the most enlightening discussions of perversion that you have ever read. They make clear, beyond any doubt, what really distinguishes abnormal from healthy sex. And they lay to rest, once and for all, those vague fears of perversion that keep many couples from attaining the full richness of sexual experience possible for them.

Variety — the Spice of Love

SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE is filled with specific, practical ideas. It takes up the varied postures, the different ways of love that can assure variety — which is absolutely indispensable to a sense of adventure. And it goes on to cover all the things husbands and wives should know to attain satisfactions in love that endure long after the honeymoon is over.

*Here is
the key to a
whole new world
waiting to be
explored—
by husbands
and wives
who really
love each other*

It provides frank, helpful information on such gnawing problems as contraception and frigidity, which so often lurk inhibitingly in the back of the mind.

It includes those small details of which tenderness is made — such as two simple exercises for wives that can heighten pleasure for both partners in love.

It suggests ways to circumvent the noise, pressures, and intrusions of modern life, to create interludes of privacy for two that can refresh the senses and the spirit.

It reveals what husbands and wives *really* want in each other as sex partners, sweeping aside the myths and romantic notions that stand in the way.

And, most important of all, it shows why the deepest and most satisfying adventures are those that take place within a happy marriage.

SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE is a book for both youth and age . . . a book of authoritative facts and wise counsel . . . written in the knowledge that sexual love can and should be an adventure lasting almost as long as life itself.

What Two Doctors Have Said About SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE:

Dr. Charles Aring, Chairman, Dept. of Neurology, College of Medicine, University of Cincinnati: "The eminently sound, socially profitable and psychologically realistic writings of the Rainers on sex are recommended . . . Their message ought to bring some ease to the 'war between the sexes', and ameliorate the misery of the non-combatants, usually children."

Dr. Leon J. Saul, author of *Emotional Maturity* and *The Technic and Practice of Psychoanalysis*: "I find the book to be a healthy, straightforward, happy account of that fundamental part of marriage, the sexual relationship."

Ten-day free examination offer

We invite you to mail the coupon below. A copy of *SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE* will be sent to you at once. If, after ten days, you are not convinced that this book can help add new interest to your marriage, you may return the book and owe nothing. Otherwise we will bill you for \$5.95 plus postage and handling. At all bookstores, or mail coupon to Simon and Schuster, Inc., Dept. N-20, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10020.

Ten-Day FREE Examination — Send No Money

**SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC., Dept. N-20
630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10020**

Please send me for FREE 10-day examination *SEXUAL ADVENTURE IN MARRIAGE*. If I wish I may return the book within 10 days and owe nothing, if not convinced that it contains ideas which can help me in my married life. Otherwise, I will remit \$5.95 plus a few cents for postage and handling.

Name.....
(Please print)

Address.....

City.....State.....
ZIP CODE.....

☐ **SAVE.** Enclose \$5.95 and we pay postage and handling. Same return privilege applies.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

A Basic Erotic Anthology. Because the great erotic literature of the Western world can contribute much to every adult, a special anthology has been included as an appendix to this book. The selections range from the Bible to Havelock Ellis . . . from Ovid, Boccaccio and the Elizabethan writers to Balzac and Maupassant . . . from the Arabic *Perfumed Garden* and the Hindu *Kama Sutra* to Casanova's *Memoirs* — and more. Here is a basic library of love that husbands and wives should read together. It will both amuse and inspire — and add exciting new dimensions to everyday experience.

Available now: simply use this coupon

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Send me copies of THOUGHTS OF THE
YOUNG RADICALS.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Cash or check only, please.
No charge orders.

a ■ NEW REPUBLIC ■ book

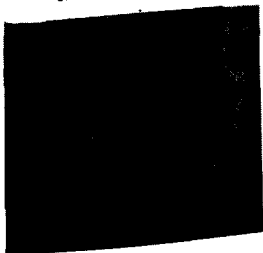
"Where, precisely, do you think our society has gone wrong?"

- This was the question the editors of *The New Republic* asked a group of young thinkers of "the New Left." Their replies, first published in *The New Republic*, are now available in inexpensive paperback form.
- Included in this volume, too, are four comments on their views of America by Dr. Robert Coles, Michael Harrington, Paul Seabury and Ronald Hamowy.
- The introduction is by Andrew Kopkind, Associate Editor of *The New Republic*, who has followed the activities of the young radicals over the past few years.

■ NEW REPUBLIC ■ book / 79c

THOUGHTS OF THE YOUNG RADICALS

and four critical comments
on their views of America



SINGLE COPIES, 75 CENTS EACH
TWO OR MORE COPIES, 50 CENTS EACH

fyng that General Motors' profit target is 20 percent on capital after taxes, and that "for every dollar of increased labor costs since 1947 it has raised automobile prices by \$3.75." But what about the supercorporation's use of its economic power for other forms of exploitation? Says Heilbroner: "Were the main instruments for the 'enlightenment' of the people not dominated by a general business orientation, and powerfully influenced by the views of big business, it seems very likely that the social and economic policies of this nation would be far more liberal than they are." It doesn't really help much to be told that, nevertheless, "the fervid political commitment of the ultraconservative is not congenial to most big businessmen. . . . What is visible instead is a profound unwillingness to get embroiled in anything. . . ." Is it to smother us with platitudes that the rest of us allow the bosses of the supercorporations to pay themselves \$200,000 salaries plus \$400,000 bonuses? Heilbroner tellingly quotes Frederick R. Kappel, president of AT.&T., on the cold war: ". . . a contest between two quite basic concepts . . . that men are capable of faith in ideas . . . and the [opposing] belief that the pursuit of material ends is all that life on earth is about." Kappel will never know that his automatic identification of himself with the former not the latter concept is risible; his yes-men could tell him but would then cease to be what they are. Nowhere does Heilbroner explain how a contemporary wingless and scaly-hided capitalist is going to evolve into the soaring eagle of his fancy. It is not enough to suggest, what's obviously true, that Kappel isn't a bad chap.

Toynbee eludes this evolutionary conundrum with polished facility, through his huge time-scale; in 2 billion years, even Kappel can become almost anything. More immediately, though, it's the imperatives that Heilbroner mentions in passing – exploding populations armed with explosives – that Toynbee sees pushing us all toward a world state. The foremost living authority on the history of civilizations forecasts a universal civilization, or bust. What are the chances? Good, he seems to think. Already we have world figures – Stalin, Churchill, Mao Tse-tung, Kennedy, a globe-trotting Pope. The break-up of

old empires has spawned more nation-states than ever before, but on examination they largely turn out to be homogenized units that may yet prove suitable building blocks of the coming world state. If the two superpowers, America and Russia, get into the habit of working together, they will "be able to put the world in order and keep it in order." Just now they're both at odds with China, and by the year 2000 not only will there be twice or thrice as many people on earth as now but half of them may be Chinese. Toynbee concludes that if America and Russia refuse the role of world unifiers, China will take it on.

But can anyone unify the great globe? Toynbee explains that it isn't really big any more, a viewpoint the astronauts probably share. The application of science to technology has annihilated distance. There would be no technological or organizational obstacle to efficiently working, worldwide public authorities. It would be an easier logistical task to administer the whole globe and everyone on it, as a unity right now, than it was to administer the original United States in the 1780's.

Toynbee's simple propositions are buttressed by the usual parade of historical samplings familiar to faithful readers of the 12-volume *Study of History* or D. C. Somervell's handy abridgement of it. Umayyads and Abbasids; Akkad and Sumer; Theodosius and Eugenius are all here, yet again. But the attempt to relate them to the fleeting present and then project to eternity produces some odd stylistic results. "In the early months of 1965, China . . . was declaring . . . she had no wish to join the United Nations . . . [but] if her wounded pride were assuaged . . . might she not revert . . . to her own traditional world-mindedness?" It sounds more like the March of Time than Toynbee.

COMING

Pauline Kael

on

"The Bible"

House of Burgesses

by Lawrence Graver

The house of fiction has many windows and Anthony Burgess seems to have stared out of all of them. Sixteen novels in ten years, including a mock-epic, two anti-Utopias, a cold war farce, a trilogy on Malaysian growing pains, and a study of Shakespeare's love life. The talent is as unsettling as it is prodigious: not one of the books is wholly successful, yet an editor of *The Best of*

Tremor of Intent
by Anthony Burgess
(Norton: \$4.50)

Burgess would end up with a matchless comic anthology. *Tremor of Intent* is still another new departure – a parody of the school of Fleming, circa 1966 – and it shows in extravagant fashion the strengths and limitations of Burgess' fiction.

Starting with the ingenious idea that "some day anthropologists will comment in gently concealed wonder on the ludic element in our serious flirting with collective suicide," Burgess goes on to prove how vigorously the game can be played. Denis Hillier, worn down by fifteen years in the secret service, is sent to kidnap a British scientist and former school friend recently defected to the Russians. Major motive: a terminal bonus which will soften the anxieties of his retirement. On the good ship *Polyolbion* (the land of many blessings), Hillier encounters friends and enemies: a sinister Rumanian selling secrets on both sides of the Curtain, his Indian secretary schooled in techniques not only of the Kama Sutra but of sex manuals never before smuggled into the West, and a sixteen-year-old blonde

suffering from "what D. H. Lawrence called sex in the head."

The element of play is outrageous and nearly always funny. In several scenes which, since Bond, have become set pieces of spy fiction, Burgess transfigures the convention and gives it new life. Combining the duel with the orgy, he has his hero beaten in a gastronomical contest which begins with red mullet and artichoke, proceeds through a dozen courses to peach mousse with sirop framboise, Marrons panaché vicomte, and nectarine flan, and ends in that "traditional vomitorium – the ocean."

Frantic scenes of mayhem and confused identities are loaded with literary references, and a good joke gets better when you catch the allusions to Dante, Goethe, Joyce, or Robert Graves. At its most inspired moments, *Tremor of Intent* becomes a clown's "Waste Land," taking on new levels of suggestiveness through a crack-brained series of literary echos. The defecting scientist, trying to restore his soiled self-respect, insists on being called "Doctor," and Burgess catches the pathos of his assertion by invoking "the stoic cry out of Jacobean drama: 'I am the Duchess of Malfi still'."

Yet despite the fact that *Tremor of Intent* has more wit and comic invention than the books which it so boisterously ridicules, one is never quite convinced that the target is worth such lavish attention. Nor do Burgess' attempts to link these perishable materials to larger concerns provide much solace. From time to time – especially at the start and finish – the characters talk seriously about science, religion, and the nature of betrayal. But play is the thing; the ideas come on too casually and are never given sufficient articulation. Since the people fail to rise above caricatures, their assertions are so much intellectual ballast.

Throughout the action, Hillier is a superior technician, "agile, light-fingered, cool," but eaten away – as all the best spys are these days – by bitterness and self-disgust. After the exhausting rounds of drinks, sex, violence, and inchoate reflection, he drifts

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Kenneth S. Lynn is a professor of English at Harvard. John Updike's newest book, *The Music School*, has just been published by Knopf. Alexander R. Butler is on the humanities faculty of Michigan State University. Lawrence Graver is a member of the English department at Williams College.

DOUBLEDAY BESTSELLERS

**PIERRE
SALINGER**

With
Kennedy \$5.95

**ALLEN
DRURY**
Capable of
Honor \$5.95

**ALISTAIR
MACLEAN**
When Eight
Bells Toll \$4.95

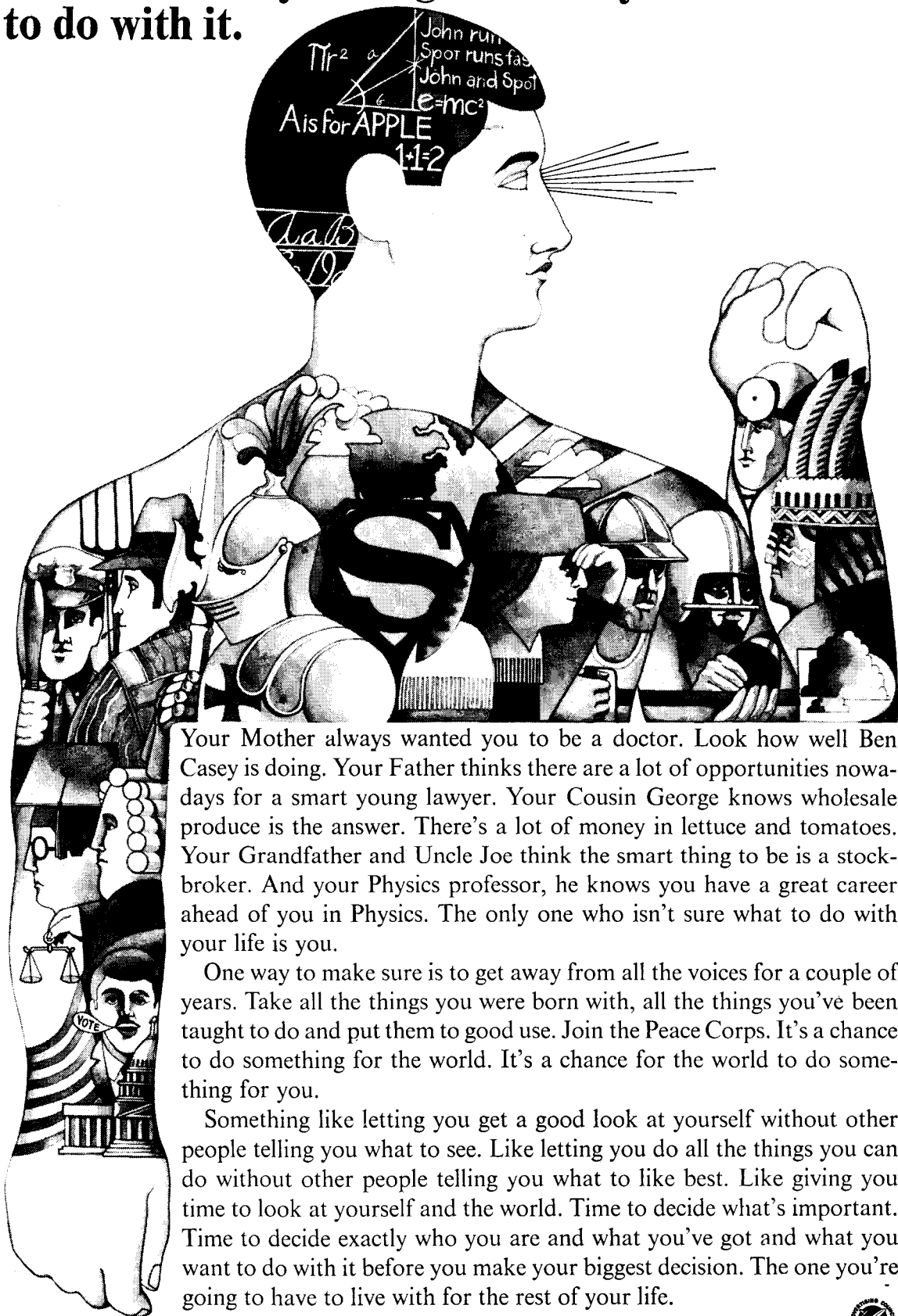
**THE SEARCH FOR
AMELIA
EARHART**
Fred Goerner \$5.95

**WILLIAM
BRINKLEY**
The Ninety
and Nine \$5.95

**JOHN
BARTH**
Giles Goat-Boy \$6.95

at all booksellers
DOUBLEDAY

Find out what you've got before you decide what to do with it.



Your Mother always wanted you to be a doctor. Look how well Ben Casey is doing. Your Father thinks there are a lot of opportunities nowadays for a smart young lawyer. Your Cousin George knows wholesale produce is the answer. There's a lot of money in lettuce and tomatoes. Your Grandfather and Uncle Joe think the smart thing to be is a stockbroker. And your Physics professor, he knows you have a great career ahead of you in Physics. The only one who isn't sure what to do with your life is you.

One way to make sure is to get away from all the voices for a couple of years. Take all the things you were born with, all the things you've been taught to do and put them to good use. Join the Peace Corps. It's a chance to do something for the world. It's a chance for the world to do something for you.

Something like letting you get a good look at yourself without other people telling you what to see. Like letting you do all the things you can do without other people telling you what to like best. Like giving you time to look at yourself and the world. Time to decide what's important. Time to decide exactly who you are and what you've got and what you want to do with it before you make your biggest decision. The one you're going to have to live with for the rest of your life.

For information write The Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.



Published as a public service in cooperation with The Advertising Council.

back to Ireland and, two pages from the end of the novel, suddenly becomes a priest. The denouement is so preposterous that one immediately suspects a bit of leg-pulling: is this a put-down of Graham Greene? Probably not. Aside from having dedicated one of his books to Greene, Burgess has always been fascinated by some of the more theatrical paradoxes of Greene's theology. In *The Right of an Answer*, a racketeer explains to the narrator how his favorite author "had shown us that the divine image, however twisted or misunderstood, could appear on a beer-mat," or "lurk like a rebus in a calendar nudescape." The religious idea which emerges at the close of *Tremor of Intent* has the same questionable luminosity. Hillier's revelation is sandwiched in between two parts of this conversation with a young friend:

"We have to be careful about that word 'neutral,'" said Hillier. "You don't need bomb-ruins to remind you of wars. The big war can be planned here as well as anywhere—I mean the war of which the temporal wars are a mere copy."

"Good and Evil you mean," said Alan.

"Not quite. We need new terms. God and Notgod. Salvation and damnation of equal dignity, the two sides of the coin of ultimate reality. As for the evil, they have to be liquidated. . . ."

"Knowing God means also knowing His opposite. You can't get away from the great opposition."

"That's Manichee stuff, isn't it?" said Alan.

When they came down from their rooms they gaped. Hillier had had his raincoat and muffler taken to the cloakroom. He sat there smiling in a clerical collar. . . .

"I don't get it," frowned Alan. "You spouting all that Manichee stuff. . . ."

"If we're going to save the world," said Hillier, "we shall have to use unorthodox doctrines as well as unorthodox methods. Don't you think we'd all rather see devil-worship than bland neutrality?"

The finest effects of Burgess' earlier novels arise from the discovery of this tension, not from its hasty and dubious

reconciliation. In this sense, Burgess has always had one basic subject: the dilemma of his first hero, Richard Ennis, who had to learn to "become a Manichee, at home in a world of perpetual war. It did not matter what the flags or badges were; he looked only for the essential opposition—wet and dry, Left Hand, Right Hand, Yin and Yang, X & Y. Here was the inevitable impasse, the eternal stalemate."

Now, with the spectacular conversion of Hillier, we are supposed to accept a heresy working comfortably within the established order, symbolized by a Manichean priest. As the young friend says: "Most unorthodox." And most implausible, too. After nearly drowning in the spray of fabulous phenomena, one finds it hard to accept the tardy assurance of one true light. Several weeks ago, in *The New York Times*, Burgess discussed his work in progress, a novel about a middle-aged poet working as a bartender in a London hotel. Being called back to the mess of the real world sounds like a good omen.

Correspondence

A Time To Be Black

Sirs:

I cannot pass by in silence two recent articles which seem off-base. One was "A Time to be Black" by Bruce Detwiler (September 17), the other "What Happened in Atlanta" (September 24).

Stokely Carmichael has had the benefit of the doubt from me for a period. Some of what he says has truth in it. But he does not talk straight. His means are dubious and vitiate whatever ends he has that might be desired.

Particularly, after his recent actions in Atlanta, in which he was guilty of deliberate inflammatory lying to a crowd which he succeeded in turning into a mob, I find him a destructive rather than a constructive force. Most of the other Negro leaders of the city spent the period of the riot side by side with Mayor Allen trying to quiet a frenzy which had been deliberately fired up by Carmichael and which had as one result a young newspaperman with a fractured skull (one who had done good writing on the liberal side

The Museum of Modern Art Christmas brochure

An illustrated 48-page brochure announcing new Christmas cards, constructions, books, reproductions and a wide selection of distinctive gifts from The Museum of Modern Art is now available. Cards and constructions reproduce favorite works by artists in the Museum Collection including Calder, Chagall and Klee. Others have been specially commissioned from young artists. They range from a print by Jasper Johns (5 cents) to Mon Levinson's silk-screen plexiglas construction with display stand and mailing envelope (limited edition at \$1.95). Highlights are the 1967 Appointment Calendar containing photographs from the Museum's Collection, film posters, recent publications, and the Trova Kaleidoscope—an unusual version of a classic Christmas toy.

The Museum of Modern Art 66-10
5300 Grand Central Sta., N.Y. 10017

I enclose 25¢ for the 1966 Christmas brochure (deductible from orders over \$5.00)

Name _____

Address _____

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Bruce Detwiler's article

A Time To Be Black

one to nine copies	20c each
10-24	18c each
25 or more	15c each

Send orders and payment to

The New Republic
1244 19th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Changing address?

Send both
old and new addresses to
SUBSCRIPTION
DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
381 WEST CENTER ST.
MARION, OHIO

Allow three weeks
for change to become effective

of the news). Carmichael's soundtrack went up and down the streets saying that a Negro had been murdered in cold blood after he was captured and handcuffed. There was no truth in this and he knew it. There was in addition no police brutality, in this particular disturbance. I'm no general apologist for police. I know that often and historically the Negro has suffered from them. In this case it was not so.

The piece on Atlanta is at least one-sided and certainly unfair to Mayor Allen. He is a businessman mayor, a former Chamber of Commerce man, with the faults of the type, but he has shown ability to learn, and he has justly earned the support of most of the Negro voters. They helped put him in office, as well as people like me who like to see a relatively decent government in office. And through a long period Atlanta has had such a city government. I suppose you are aware that Allen was the first American mayor to go to Washington (probably the only Southern one) in order to testify very forthrightly in favor of open housing? Do you know that our desegregation of schools has not been token, but thoroughgoing. My brother-in-law is a high-school teacher, and takes pride in the excellent and thoughtful way this part of a social revolution is being handled. There are many, many ways in which native Atlantans and Southerners, fired even with zeal, are helping to bring about this revolution in our own land—contrary to Detwiler's opinion that there are no real liberals in the South. . . .

It is healthy for Atlanta to be reminded of its own hypocrisy and injustice—and there is, of course, plenty of that in any large, complex growing city. We are rather full of self-criticism here anyway. If the town has one virtue, it is that of freewheeling talk. There is no hushing up of anything here. What is unfair is the implication against Allen and the city government, that the mayor and Board of Aldermen practice only a

kind of clever chicanery and hypocrisy. This is simply untrue, a grotesque caricature of the real situation in the city. There is plenty of wrong here, but there is also real effort and real devotion on the part of many people to set things at least righter.

*Elizabeth Stevenson
Atlanta, Georgia*

Bruce Detwiler's analysis of Stokely Carmichael's aims and tactics was excellent up to a point, but it failed to put its finger on the basic irony of the "black power" movement. It is this:

Black power represents an important awakening to the fact that while integration remains today the prime end of the civil rights movement, it seems to be failing as the prime means to that end. This is a discovery that could—and in my mind should—cause a basic change of course in the civil rights movement; yet the black power leaders, in their impatience to bring about this change of course, are threatening to destroy much of what the movement has accomplished.

At the beginning of the civil rights movement there was a belief among liberals that if we could only break the legal and emotional barriers of apartheid and prejudice in this country the problem would solve itself: "Just get people learning, living and working together, and they will see there is no difference." Integration was both end and means.

Then, as white America began for the first time to take a serious look at the Negro community, a disturbing fact began to emerge, a fact so elementary that our common sense should have made it obvious from the beginning: A society cannot take a minority of its people and do to it what we did to the Negro for a dozen generations, and then expect the minority to emerge from these centuries "equal" or "the same" or "ready for integration."

But while America over the past dozen years has become pretty familiar with the enormous differences we have created between black and white, it has been only in recent months that the civil rights movement has begun, reluctantly, to face the logical consequence of this discovery. (In fact, as the treatment of Daniel Moynihan at the last White House conference indicates, many civil rights leaders still prefer not

to face the hard facts.) The reason is obvious, for the discovery violates the basic assumption that up to now has fueled the civil rights movement: the assumption that familiarity will breed understanding, that integration will breed more integration. As the history of all our immigrant minorities has shown, true integration requires a good deal of cultural similarity and a very large degree of cultural equality—and these are precisely the attributes of which America has systematically deprived the Negro over the centuries.

It is here that the black power advocates have made their important contribution. To the mass of the Negro community they say: De-emphasize the outward drive toward integration and turn the main effort inward toward raising your own level of education, of self-respect and of ability to compete politically and economically with the white community. When you have achieved these levels, if you feel like integrating, integrate.

To America as a whole (that is, to the "white power structure" locally and nationally), they say: First, we intend to force you, by organizing our latent political strength, to recognize the enormity of the moral and financial debt you owe the Negro for having corrupted him for your own profits. Second, to pay this debt you must give up trying to satisfy your own conscience by making the Negro integrate with you on your terms; instead you must go into the Negro community with the unprecedentedly large sums of money that are needed for education, housing and all the other social services that may be able to repair the damage you have done.

This, at least, is how I decipher the real message behind all the black power talk, and to me the message is eminently right. Up to here I think Mr. Detwiler and I agree, but no further.

For now we come to the danger of the black power movement. This lies not in its philosophy but in its tactics and rhetoric. Though the term "black power" was, I think, originally intended primarily as no more than a rallying cry, it has been widely interpreted as a philosophy of violence and black supremacy. Mr. Detwiler blames this interpretation on "white paranoia," but I think it is the leaders of the movement, through the violence and hysteria

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

of much of their talk, who have blurred the distinction between slogan and philosophy. It is becoming more and more doubtful whether they can or even want to make the distinction, for they seem to be caught up in a very dangerous game. In their impatience to motivate the dispirited mass of Negroes to work in their own behalf, they seem to have chosen to exploit what they consider the most powerful motivating force at hand—the Negro's resentment of his exploiters—and this may prove to be an exercise in grabbing the tiger by the tail. For while it is all very well for the black power leaders to be, in Mr. Detwiler's words, "less concerned with nationwide public relations, and more with the Negro community," it will certainly be self-destructive for them to continue to flout public opinion as flagrantly as they have started out to do. Quite aside from their seeming unawareness of the explosiveness of the emotions they are manipulating among the Negroes, they seem either not to know or not to care that the words with which they hope to galvanize the Negro community are being listened to by the rest of America.

Thus the irony of black power is that its intelligent young leaders, who in my opinion best understand the means to ultimate integration, may through their impatience and emotional immaturity delay or even prevent its ultimate achievement.

James N. Miller
Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Careers in Conservation

Sirs:

Your September 10 article "Careers in Conservation" (September 10) suggests that one could possibly work out "a project with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Labor Department, which has training programs for hiring 1,000 or so unemployed people and training them in water and air pollution control. . . ."

Unfortunately, there is little room for untrained people in air and water pollution control. The complexity of our society and consequently of our wastes and related treatment methods, require technicians, scientists and engineers of a very high and specialized caliber. Without them we could not carry out

effective water and air pollution control programs. It takes a great deal of training to detect some of the very toxic pesticides and other pollutants in our atmosphere and our waters. Much of this work must be done by people who have engineering and scientific training. The answer then, of course, is more opportunity for high level technical and scientific training as it relates to water and air pollution control.

Congratulations for touching upon one of the most crucial areas of conservation in the future, the need for trained personnel. Let us not oversimplify the problem though.

Walter A. Lyon
Pennsylvania Department of Health

Instinct and Alibi

Sirs:

I haven't read Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative*, but I have read Charles Deemer's review ("Jeopardy and Alibi," October 1) and am appalled by his readiness to embrace instinctual explanations, and by his endorsement of Ardrey's facile examples to illustrate the "territorial instinct." An explanation from instinct must cover the entire species, but human beings do not all act the same way in the same situation, and so Mr. Ardrey must claim that the German Jews who went to their death passively at the hands of the Nazis lacked this instinct. But what about those who were not passive? And what instinct was at play among the Jews who fought the Nazis inside the concentration camps—a "territory" which was hardly "the exclusive property" of the Jews? What instinct guided those Americans who wanted to enter World War II long before Pearl Harbor was bombed, and those who were reluctant to fight even afterwards and had to be drafted? Do middle-class whites, who are affluent enough to flee when lower-status Negroes move near, lack the territorial instinct of poorer whites who cannot afford to leave and must therefore fight the "intruders"? And if the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong have "instinctive energies" to fight the American intruders, why not the South Vietnamese government troops *vis à vis* the North Vietnamese intruders?

I think a return to instinct theory is intellectual regression, but I will accept

Before you
vote, be sure to read
DIRTY POLITICS
by **BRUCE L. FELKNOR**

AN authoritative, disturbing survey of political chicanery in America by the former executive director of the Committee for Fair Campaign Practices. "It can be read with profit by all who run for office and all who vote." — JOHN CHANCELLOR, Director, Voice of America. "The proposals contained in the last chapter are deserving of the most serious consideration at all levels of government and by concerned citizens everywhere." — GEORGE ROMNEY, Governor of Michigan. Illustrated. \$5.95

And don't miss

WE GIVE TO CONQUER

By ASHER BRYNES. A former consultant to Paul Hoffman of the ECA charges that the U.S. foreign aid program is a threat to world peace. \$4.50

At all bookstores

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
New York, N.Y. 10003

"The Oswald Affair . . . is superior . . . It is a readable and reasonable . . . analysis of the evidence . . ."
—National Observer

THE OSWALD AFFAIR

by *Léo Sauvage*
An examination of the Contradictions and Omissions of the Warren Report.

"(Of the current) rash of books out now on the Warren Report, none is written with such conviction and such unbiased reporting . . . It reads like the perfect murder mystery."

—Mary Ann Lee,
Detroit Free Press

" . . . an excellent American translation . . . Sauvage has written a lively newspaper man's account."

—Robert M. Slusser,
Baltimore Sun

" . . . the toughest book thus far written on the assassination . . ."

—James Lehrer
Dallas Times Herald

418 pages Illustrated \$6.95

 **THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY**
A SUBSIDIARY OF THE TIMES MIRROR COMPANY
Cleveland and New York

BOOK HUNTING? Any Book Located

No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, all subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation. Write to—Dept. NEW BOOKS-ON-FILE

Union City New Jersey

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP,
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Act of October 23, 1962: Section 4369, Title 39,
United States Code).

1. Date of Filing: Sept. 29, 1966.
2. Title of Publication: *The New Republic*.
3. Frequency of Issue: Weekly except in July and August when publication is bi-weekly, eliminating 4 issues.
4. Location of known office of publication: 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
5. Location of the General Business offices of the publishers: 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Garth Hite, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Editor-in-Chief: Gilbert A. Harrison, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Managing Editor: Alex Campbell, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
7. Owner: Name: Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc., c/o United States Corp., 15 Exchange Place, Jersey City, New Jersey. Stockholders: Owning more than 1 percent of stock: Anne B. Harrison, 3556 Macomb Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.; Old Republic Charitable Foundation, 10 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.; Gilbert A. Harrison, 3556 Macomb Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. for Eleanor Harrison, Joel Harrison, David Blaine Harrison, and James Louis Harrison.
8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
9. Not applicable.
- 10.

	Avg. No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. copies printed (Net Press Run)	138,413	134,067
B. Paid Circulation:		
1. Sales through dealers, and carriers, street ven- dors and counter sales	5,235	4,948
2. Mail Subscriptions	118,836	114,986
C. Total Paid Circulation	124,071	119,934
D. Free Distribution (includ- ing samples) by mail, carrier or other means	1,592	1,981
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	125,663	121,915
F. Office Use, left-over, un- accounted, spoiled after printing issues	12,750	12,152
G. Total (Sum of E & F - should equal net press run shown in A)	138,413	134,067

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Glenon M. Matthiesen,
Business Manager.

explanations from instinct if evidence is provided for them, and other explanations do not suffice. When evidence is lacking, however, the user of instinct theory is explaining economic and political behavior by a concept which assumes people are unable to change, and in thus offering pseudo-scientific justification for somebody's status quo. Of course, human beings value and defend their homes, and perhaps an instinct is at the bottom of it, but to argue thereby that the viciousness of Cicero and Grenada whites is solely instinctual strikes me as dangerous nonsense. I also find it most interesting that instinct behavior is used to explain the behavior of these whites, but not of the Negroes who marched for decent housing; of the Jews' failure to fight the Nazis, but not of the Gypsies, Poles, Russians and others who were similarly passive. If Mr. Deemer's review accurately portrays the Ardrey argument, I would advise the State Department to save its money, and get a paperback copy of *Mein Kampf*, which justified murder and violence by the need for Lebensraum.

Herbert J. Gans
New York City

Draft the Reservists?

Sirs:

In his article "Draft the Reservists?" (September 17), Jeffrey Shane states that it would be unwise to call up the reservists at this time because it "would precipitate a sharp drop in Reserve manpower." He further states that those reservists currently untrained are so because the army lacks training facilities.

This may be so, but what of the hundreds of thousands of reservists who have received training for periods of six months and who attend weekly training meetings and summer camps? Certainly the billions of dollars poured into training these men was designed to make them useful fighting men in time of war.

It seems to me that the President is refusing to call up these men more out of fear of stirring more protest against his unpopular handling of this unpopular war, rather than his concern for Reserve manpower needs.

Stephen Kopner
Ridgefield, Conn.

Ignominious Pursuit

Sirs:

The decision of the University of Pennsylvania that the ignominy of carrying on classified biological and chemical warfare research was not worth the subsidy of Pentagon money was not as courageous as you indicated in your issue of October 1. In fact, it was not courageous at all. The Institute for Cooperative Research, which was the target of student and faculty protest last spring has been abolished, but the two projects that protest was aimed at, Summit and Spicerack, are being continued under the direction of the Provost. Both projects have been renewed by the University for the present academic year.

David Lawrence, Chairman
Americans for Democratic Action
University of Pennsylvania

Kauffmann, from page 14

granddaughter thinks of Chubinov: "Conspiracy was for him what cricket was for her father and brothers." Chubinov himself, after the murder, puts it otherwise but not really differently:

"Lenin and his followers represent the idea of revolution with all the poetry, all the spontaneity, all the natural grandeur, subtracted from it. . . . A courageous deed, the sublime defiance of authority, these things mean nothing to Lenin. Such a man can never change the course of history. That is for our organization to do, for to a man we are idealists."

Fine. In a hundred pages stripped of contrivance and irrelevancy, Dame Rebecca might have given us a bitter short novel to this point (and a short novel is the most it could support): the disaster of deluded idealism at a crucial moment in history.

But the second irony is that the florid methods of her 435 pages reveal something of the same mind in art that she is criticizing in life. Her novel on the fallacy of rhapsodic politics is itself a romantic rhapsody. Her treatment of the Chubinov mind is a Chubinov of a book.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! - minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, \$1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

GLOBAL PHILOSOPHY FOR NONTHEISTS. Free information about international humanist movement. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-16, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

VIETNAM WITNESS - Bernard Fall. Send \$6.95 to J. Brower, 7800 Essington, Phila., Pa. 19153.

QUALIFIED YOUNG MAN seeks career in college administration. Phi Beta Kappa, Harvard Law graduate. Box 795, New Republic.

HEADMASTER WANTED. Private school property available. Large campus. Lake. Furnished. Lease \$800 monthly. Sell \$5000 down. Box 402, Hague, New York.

MODEL SHIP KITS (wood), *Endeavor*, \$9.90; *Santa Maria*, \$13.60. Brochure 10c, color catalog \$1.00. Miniature Model Ships, P.O. Box 1543, Rockville, Maryland.

USE LAWFUL DIRECT ACTION to legalize abortion—LEGALIZE ABORTION, P.O. Box 24163, Los Angeles, 90024.

IF YOU NEED IT, WE'LL FIND IT! Out of Print Books, Magazines. Box 800, New Republic.

MAKING UP YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT LIST? Don't forget to include the ideal gift - one year subscription to THE NEW REPUBLIC. First subscription \$9.00; each additional subscription ordered at the same time, only \$7.00. Order from THE NEW REPUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION DEPT., 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 207, Andover, Mass. 01810.

GRASS ROOTS GIRL FOR GRASS ROOTS BOOK \$800 PER MONTH

plus lodging, food, laundry. Unattached, unassuming Girl Friday to live, work in mountains 80 minutes from Washington, D. C. Assist author-editor construct dead-serious, funny ha-ha book on national economic thought. Book profits go to the 50 State Universities. No wallflowers, dilettantes, or rote thinkers. This ex-college student is a competent typist with valid driver's license. She has either finished college or intensely wants to finish or extend her higher education. No security, much adventure. This is a learn job, a very rigorous and rewarding job. Project ends next Spring, but future is unlimited. If you can work very long hours for your Country's well-being, and have fun doing it, then write DeWeese Pardridge, Economic Inequities, Linden, Virginia 22642. No promising writers, please. Violent sense of humor helpful, but not essential. Bonus to successful applicant who can get whole story from the *Congressional Record*.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

SUPERB SOUND QUALITY make Sabathil harpsichords famous, 3911 W 25th, Vancouver, Canada.

JOIN THE OHIM CLUB; MEMBERSHIP NOW OPEN. Lifetime Membership card with beautiful, gold-plated, hand-polished, membership pin. Can be used as tie tack, lapel pin, or dress ornament. Has that fine jewelry look. Nicely boxed conversation piece. Only \$1.00 ppd. Customcraft Creations, P. O. Box 1112, Dept. 108, Providence, Rhode Island 02901.

WHOLESALE. Human Hair Wigs. Custom Hair Pieces. Free Information. Gift eyelashes, \$1. Glennstyles, Box 174, Mamaroneck, N.Y.

BUY THE CRAFTS OF FREEDOM from co-ops in Mississippi. Hand-crafted suede bags, candles, Negro and white stuffed dolls, charming calico dresses, and more, are available from our free mail order catalog. Liberty House, P. O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately Priced. Send 50c for color-illustrated catalogue. Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst 73, New York.

CHESS SET FROM NIGERIA. Hand-carved. Extraordinary craftsmanship. Tribal motif. Inquiries: Alan Weiss, 1526 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. (Ex Peace Corps Volunteer.)

EXCITING ORIGINAL GRAPHICS, contemporary foreign artists: woodcuts, etchings, lithos; by subscription \$3.50-\$7 each. Brochure: Graphic Circle (NR), 68 Fifth Ave., NYC 10011.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

289 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 168 cities, 24 countries. Latest listing of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send \$1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

ADULT DEGREE PROGRAM for men and women over 25 seeking liberal arts education. B.A. degree may be earned through series of six month study cycles combining two week seminars on campus twice yearly with independent study at home. Students may start in July, August, January or February. Write Box R, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

THE IDLER. Lively, offbeat liberal monthly. Fun to read. Send \$2 for trial year's subscription. Idler, 413 6th St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

HUGE STOCK - Search Service. Infinite Books, Box 18229N, Cleveland, Ohio 44118.

SOCIALIST BOOKS - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

SPECIAL WESTERN ISSUE. Collector's item. Symposium of Western American novelists. Essays on Western fiction and poetry. South Dakota Review, \$1.00 postpaid. Box 111, University Exchange, Vermillion, S.D. 57069.

MANDARIN IN FOUR WEEKS, \$2.80. Say in Vietnamese, \$1.75. Selected Chinese Sayings, \$2.80. Oriental Publication Service, Box 300, Norman, Oklahoma.

POETRY WANTED for cooperative anthology. Include stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishing Company, 543 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

\$10 DAILY Writing Short Articles at Home. Begin Immediately! Copyrighted Report Reveals How and Where! Send \$1.00. Pan-Am, Box 11796 NR, Atlanta 5, Georgia.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. \$1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

21 WAYS TO SAVE ON YOUR PHONE BILL. Send \$1 to American Telephone Consumers Council, 1133-H Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10036.

INDEX FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC Volume #154, January-June, 1966 available now. Please send ten cents to The New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036.

IF YOU FAVOR SIMPLICITY, dignity and economy in funeral arrangements, write Continental Association, Room 400 H, 59 East Van Buren, Chicago 60605.

STUDENTS: QUIT kidding around. "AGE 18 VOTE!" badges (1 1/2") 25c; bumper banners (15") 25c. Minimum order \$1.00. Collins, Box 2846-R, Santa Monica, California.

1 1/4" ASSORTED PEACE STICKERS, 25c/100. Hogen, Box 259 Stuyvesant Station, NYC 9. How Many?

YOUR INSTANT PERSONAL PICKET LINE. Six assorted anti-war buttons, \$1.00 postpaid, and free propaganda from: SPU, Five Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

COMMENTARY REPORTS

Readers and organizations have asked for additional copies of many Commentary articles on vital, controversial issues. We are publishing these Reports as a public service to:

- Discussion groups • Religious institutions • Schools • Business
- Civic organizations • Colleges • Libraries • Government

ENTER THE NUMBER OF REPORTS REQUIRED IN THE BOX AT THE SIDE OF EACH TITLE

☐ THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY: Fundamentalism on the Right Alan F. Westin 50 cents	☐ ON READING MATTHEW Milton Himmelfarb 40 cents	☐ THE STATE OF SOVIET JEWRY Maurice Friedberg; and SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM —An exchange between Bertand Russell and Aron Vergelis 50 cents
☐ NEGROES AND JEWS: The New Challenge to Pluralism Nathan Glazer 40 cents	☐ BIG BUSINESS & THE DEMOCRATS, David Bazelon 35 cents	☐ THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY, D. Danzig 35 cents
☐ MY NEGRO PROBLEM—AND OURS, N. Podhoretz 35 cents	☐ HOW WE ARE: Are Jews Still Different? M. Himmelfarb 40 cents	☐ JEWISH RESISTANCE TO THE NAZIS, Oscar Handlin; and HANNAH ARENDT ON EICHMANN, N. Podhoretz 50 cents
☐ THE DOMINICAN CRISIS (December '65 issue) Theodore Draper 75 cents	☐ THE AMERICAN READING PROBLEM Selma Fraiberg 40 cents	☐ CONSERVATISM AFTER GOLDWATER, David Danzig 35 cents
☐ A JOURNAL OF THE WARSAW GHETTO, Chaim Kaplan 60 cents	☐ VATICAN II AND THE JEWS F. E. Cartus 40 cents	☐ THE ARAB REFUGEES: A Zionist View, Marie Syrkin 40 cents
☐ AMERICAN CATHOLICISM AFTER THE COUNCIL Michael Novak 50 cents	☐ FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement, B. Rustin 40 cents	
☐ INTERMARRIAGE AND THE JEWISH FUTURE Marshall Sklare 50 cents	☐ THE WATTS "MANIFESTO" & THI McCONE REPORT Bayard Rustin 40 cents	
☐ THE NEGRO AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS Midge Decter 45 cents	☐ COMMUNISM IN ASIA Donald S. Zagoria 35 cents	
☐ CHINESE VISIONS & AMERICAN POLICIES Benjamin Schwartz 40 cents	☐ FORBIDDEN FOODS Erich Isaac 35 cents	
☐ FUTURE OF CAPITALISM Robert L. Heilbroner 50 cents	☐ PIUS XII, THE JEWS AND THE GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH Guenter Lewy 50 cents	
☐ CHINA'S STRATEGY Donald S. Zagoria 35 cents	☐ P. S. 165: Portrait of an Integrated School, Richard Schickel 40 cents	
☐ THE TRIAL OF JESUS Paul Winter 40 cents	☐ FIVE YEARS OF CASTRO'S CUBA, Theodore Draper 40 cents	
☐ MUTUAL AID AND THE NEGRO John Slawson 40 cents	☐ THE FAILURE OF URBAN RENEWAL Herbert J. Gans 40 cents	
	☐ UP FROM APATHY —The Woodlawn Experiment: Self-Help in a Slum Neighborhood Charles E. Silberman 35 cents	

NEW REPORTS

- ☐ **THE MYTH OF THE JEWISH WORLD-CONSPIRACY**
Norman Cohen 50 cents
- ☐ **THE PROBLEM OF THE NEW LEFT,** Tom Kahn 50 cents
- ☐ **CHURCH AND STATE—HOW HIGH THE WALL?**
Milton Himmelfarb 40 cents

REPORT USERS INCLUDE

American Friends Service
Beth Abraham Synagogue, Dayton
Brandeis University
Brooklyn College
Bryant College
City of Detroit
Comm. for Internat. Development
Conn. Council of Human Rights
Community Action Training, S.F.
Douglass College
Hamilton College
Harvard University
Jewish Theological Seminary
Michigan State University
Middlebury College
Oakland (Cal.) Police Department
Reed Street Neighborhood House, Philadelphia
St. Olaf College
St. Paul Epis. Church, New Haven
Stanford University
Temple of Aaron, St. Paul
University of California, L.A.
University of Connecticut
University of Maryland
University of Minnesota
University of Notre Dame
University of Puget Sound
University of Wisconsin
Wisconsin State University

QUANTITY DISCOUNTS: REPORTS CAN BE COMBINED FOR DISCOUNT

25-49 copies less 10%; 50-99 copies less 15%; 100-299 copies less 20%
300-499 copies less 30%; 500-1000 copies less 40%; more than 1000 copies less 50%

Commentary Reports, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 NR-R

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Complete list of 35 Reports
(value \$15.10) \$5.95 | ☐ 15 Reports on Jewish affairs
(value \$6.75) \$2.95 |
|--|--|

Enter the number of Reports required in the box next to the appropriate title.

- ☐ Payment enclosed (Commentary pays shipping) ☐ Bill me
Minimum order \$1.00 Orders over \$5.00 can be billed

Name

Address

City State Zip